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THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

FROM 1574 TO 1610.

VOL. II.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.

THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF HENRY THE THIRD,

IN 1574,

TO THE

DEATH OF HENRY THE FOURTH,

IN 1610.

PRECEDED BY

A VIEW OF THE CIVIL, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE,

BETWEEN THE MIDDLE, AND THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY;

AND FOLLOWED BY

A VIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE

AT THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS THE THIRTEENTH.

By Sir N. WILL^M. WRAXALL, Bart.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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OF THE

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OF

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Review of the Neapolitan history.

OF all the European monarchies, Naples appears to have undergone the most complete and numerous revolutions. In the course of about four centuries, the Norman line, the Imperial house of Suabia, the Capetian family of the branch of Anjou, and the Arragonese princes, successively reigned, and were successively expelled. The last mentioned Dynasty was founded by Alfonso, King of Arragon; who, after a contest of several years, having vanquished his competitor, Renè, Duke of Anjou, terminated his life and reign at Naples. He was surnamed "the wise and the magnanimous;" and though an impartial review of his administration as a sovereign, might in many instances, call into question his title to those qualities, he was undoubtedly, an amiable, superior, and accomplished prince. Induced by the beauty of the Neapolitan climate, the fertility of its soil, and the delightful position of Naples itself, he seems to have entirely neglected his hereditary dominions of Arragon, Valentia, Catalonia, and Sicily, tho' portions of Europe highly favored by nature. Frederick the Second, Emperor of Germany, of the house of Suabia, one of the greatest monarchs of the thirteenth century, had displayed thro'out his whole life, the same predilection as Alfonso, for that charming country. During the reign of the latter sovereign, his

1435. Arragonese kings.

Alfonso.

Spanish provinces became in some measure secondary and subservient to Naples; in the capital of which kingdom he fixed his residence, surrounded by the arts; and towards the close of his career, immersed in pleasures. With the termination of his life, the grandeur of the Neapolitan crown and court sustained a severe diminution. At his death, he bequeathed all his Spanish territories, including the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, to his brother John; from whom they descended to Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Arragon, so well known in history by his marriage with Isabella of Castile[a]. To his natural son, Ferdinand, Alfonso left Naples, as being a crown which he had acquired by conquest; and that prince, not without many difficulties, having ascended the throne, maintained himself in it till his decease. He was neither deficient in vigor, or in capacity; but, his perfidious treatment of the great Neapolitan Feudatories or Barons, who being seized, were either executed or assassinated by his orders, and by those of his eldest son, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, covered them both with opprobrium. The circumstances of treachery and personal revenge which accompanied the act, excited general indignation; and by rendering the King, as well as his successor, odious to the nobility, prepared their eventual overthrow. The Prince of Salerno, one of the most powerful nobles, having taken refuge in the court of Charles the

CHAP. IX.

1435.

1458.

Ferdinand.

1494.

[a] Giannoné, Hist. de Naples, 4 vols. quarto, vol. iii. p. 539—541.

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Eighth, King of France; his exhortations operated strongly in determining that young monarch, who was desirous of acquiring military renown, and imbued with ideas of chivalry, to undertake the conquest of Naples [b]. The rapid and astonishing success of an expedition, which, from its temerity appeared to be destined for a very different result; was not more due to the pusillanimity and incapacity of Alfonso the Second, who had recently succeeded to his father Ferdinand, than to the unpopularity and odium of his character.

1494.

1495—1498. Invasion of Naples, by Charles the Eighth.

Charles the Eighth, scarcely master of the Neapolitan crown, was soon compelled to fly, rather than to retreat; and esteemed himself fortunate in being able to repass the Apennines, notwithstanding the opposition of the Italian powers, who had leagued to prevent his return. The French irruption appeared to have left behind it hardly any trace of its existence. Their remaining troops, stationed in different parts of the kingdom of Naples, were speedily reduced to capitulate; and after a short period of convulsion, Frederic, brother to Alfonso, a prince adorned with virtues and qualities capable of contributing to the felicity of his subjects ascended the throne. This event was soon followed by the death of the King of France, who expired in the flower of his age; and the temporary subversion of the Arragonese family,

[b] Giannoné, Hist. de Naples, 4 vols. quarto, vol. iii. p. 608—620. and p. 663.

seemed

seemed to have only confirmed them in the possession of their dominions. [c]

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1498—1503.

But, the momentary tranquillity produced by the decease of Charles the Eighth, preceded new and greater changes. Louis the Twelfth, who, with his predecessor's crown, inherited his pretensions, prepared to renew the attempt upon the kingdom of Naples. In order to facilitate the conquest, and to secure its permanency, he embraced a policy the most injudicious; by allying himself with Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Spain, whose ambition and thirst of power were well known to be unrestrained by any regard to the sanctity of treaties. Though Ferdinand's connection by consanguinity, as well as by marriage, with Frederic, King of Naples, should have at least secured the latter from attack on the part of Spain; Ferdinand did not hesitate to agree upon a partition of that Prince's territories, at the precise time when he affected to offer his assistance against France. The acquisition of the proposed object, undertaken with forces so superior, instantly took place: while the unfortunate Frederic, become the victim of a faithless ally from whom he expected aid, voluntarily took refuge in the dominions of Louis, his avowed enemy. The event which had been foreseen, as an inevitable result of such a compact, was speedily realized. Disputes arose between the two sovereigns,

Division of Naples, between the Kings of France and Spain.

Gonsalvo de Cordova drives out the French.

[c] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 667—679.

CHAP. IX. 1498—1503. which could only be decided by arms; and Gonsalvo de Cordova, who commanded the troops of Ferdinand, acted with so much vigor, as well as decision, against the French commander, that, notwithstanding a suspension of hostilities was concluded between them, the Spaniards having ultimately expelled their enemies, remained sole possessors of the kingdom. [d]

1503—1507. Subjection of Naples to Spain. From this memorable period, Naples sunk into a dependant province; and being no longer governed by its proper kings, as heretofore, ceases in some measure, to possess an history, except as composing a part of the Spanish monarchy; in all the wars and convulsions of which unwieldy fabrick, it bore no inconsiderable share. The lover of history will not, however, think it beneath his attention, while reviewing the condition of that beautiful country after its subjection; to contemplate the principal features of the policy and government introduced by Ferdinand the Catholic, and imitated by his two immediate successors. The first act of the new sovereign was a proclamation, by which he confirmed the privileges conceded to the Neapolitan people, during the reigns of his immediate predecessors, since the death of Alfonso the First in 1458; tho' he pretended to claim the crown, as legitimate heir to that prince. Alarmed at the reports which were spread abroad, that Gonsalvo de Cordova, whom he had continued in the post of Captain General and Governor of Naples, entertained

Ferdinand the Catholic.

[d] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 679—699. Mezerai, vol. vii.

views

views of ascending the throne in his own person; and aware of the precarious tenure by which the kingdom was held; Ferdinand, notwithstanding his advanced age, and encreasing infirmities, determined on passing over thither in person, without delay. It is not unworthy of observation, that when he embarked from Barcelona for Italy, with fifty gallies, so imperfect was still the art of navigation, and so dangerous was it esteemed to venture out to a distance at sea, that he only sailed along the intermediate coast; and having touched in the ports of France upon the Mediterranean, as well as at Genoa, he at length reached Gaieta, from which place he proceeded by land to Naples [c]. He was received by his new subjects, with every demonstration of attachment; and notwithstanding the important concerns which arose in Spain during his absence, occasioned by the unexpected death of his son-in-law, Philip, King of Castile, he remained seven months in Italy, occupied in regulating the administration, as well as in laying the foundations of the system of government which he thought proper to adopt, for the preservation of his new conquest.

CHAP. IX. 1503—1507.

Measures of his government.

Conscious that the Neapolitans required a vigorous, no less than a steady hand, Ferdinand began by subverting the antient forms of the monarchy, and thus removing every impediment which might prevent him from completely extinguishing the usages, antecedently practised

[c] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 711—714. Abregé Chron. d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 46.

CHAP. IX. 1503—1507.

Policy of Ferdinand.

under the Arragonese kings. Naples having ceased to form any longer a royal residence, the great officers of state were suppressed, as being equally expensive and unnecessary. A viceroy, invested with almost unlimited authority, to whom Ferdinand associated two counsellors versed in the jurisprudence of the country, was appointed to represent the person of the sovereign. The courts of justice, and all the other tribunals, had been orginally modelled upon those of France, by the Princes of the house of Anjou, when they subjected Naples, in the thirteenth century. Alfonso the First, at his accession in 1435, tho' the founder of a new Dynasty, yet conforming himself to the manners, as well as to the laws, which he found already established, made little or no alteration; and his successors pursued towards the Neapolitans, the same conciliating policy. But, Ferdinand embracing an opposite line of conduct, accommodated them universally to the genius of his own nation, by ordering all the public acts, which had been hitherto drawn up in the Latin language, to be in future promulgated in the Spanish tongue[f]. A change still more injurious was introduced, by the sale of offices and dignities. Under their antient kings of every race, these posts had been gratuitously conferred on merit, valor, and science. But, the continual wants of the Spanish monarchs gradually rendered the highest posts venal, and exposed them to sale, not only for the life of the purchaser, but even in rever-

Venality of offices and dignities.

[f] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 720—729.

sion

sion exclusively to particular families in perpetuity. The subversion of all right and equity became the inevitable result of so iniquitous a system of jurisprudence. [g]

CHAP. IX. 1503—1507.

With Ferdinand's accession likewise arose another national evil; the augmentation of titles and personal honors. The dignity of *Prince*, a rank which had been ever exclusively confined to the individuals of the royal blood, was rendered common; and all the inferior marks of dignity were sold by the Chancery, to such as could pay the prices respectively annexed to their purchase [h]. Perhaps no method more effectual, of degrading the nobility in their own estimation, could have been devised. Even the confirmation of the immunities enjoyed by the Neapolitan nobility and people, was accompanied with a demand of three hundred thousand Ducats, exacted by the sovereign as an acknowledgement for that act of grace. We may estimate it at one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling. Ferdinand appears to have exerted no mark of munificence or liberality towards his new subjects, in return for so many donations, except in causing the small sum of two thousand Ducats to be annually paid towards reviving the university of Naples, which the preceding troubles had involved in ruin. His apparent parsimony and rapacity may however derive some justification, from the necessity in which he found himself, of restoring to the Neapolitan Barons of the French party, their estates and property. That article

Severe exactions of Ferdinand.

[g] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 737. [h] Ibid. p. 737, 738.

had

CHAP. IX. 1503—1507. had been generously stipulated by Louis the Twelfth, in the treaty which compelled him to renounce his claim to the kingdom of Naples; and its infringement might have been attended with very dangerous consequences to Ferdinand, who was reduced to compensate from the royal treasury, for the lands of which he deprived his own adherents. [i]

1507—1529. Return of Ferdinand to Spain. After having effected these momentous and fundamental changes, which completely reduced Naples into the form of a conquered province, Ferdinand returned to Spain. During about nine years which that monarch still continued to reign, the Neapolitan dominions, governed by viceroys, enjoyed repose, if not felicity, and were undisturbed by foreign enemies:

Charles the Fifth. but when his grandson, Charles of Austria ascended the throne, the condition of Naples became infinitely more unfortunate, in consequence of the perpetual wars in which he was engaged against France. Previous to the commencement of any hostilities, the election of the new King of Spain to fill the Imperial throne of Germany, was made the pretext for demanding a supply of equal magnitude with that contribution which had been granted to his predecessor, when he first took possession of the kingdom. These severe exactions, disproportionate to the wealth, and superior to the ability of the Neapolitans to pay, were not only repeated, but augmented [k]. Foreign invasions encreased the evils, caused by the

[i] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 714, 715, and p. 739. [k] Ibid. p. 19.

genius

genius of the Spanish government; and every attempt made by Francis the First to recover the crown of Naples proving unsuccessful, the oppression of the viceroys at length degenerated into tyranny. After the memorable and unfortunate expedition of Lautrec, in 1528, Philibert of Chalons, Prince of Orange, who commanded the Imperial army, exercised the severest vengeance on the persons and estates of all those nobles who had joined the French, or who appeared to demonstrate any attachment towards that nation. The necessities of Charles the Fifth, who during his whole reign stood in want of money for the payment of his mutinous forces, induced him not only to permit, but to encourage the confiscations which enriched his treasury. A tribunal having been constituted for the trial of all offenders, the Prince of Orange distributed to the principal Imperial officers, the lands of such as were there condemned[l]. He was not ashamed to retain for his own benefit, one of the most ample fiefs; and we may form some estimate of the magnitude of the fines imposed, by that to which was sentenced the city of Aquila, capital of the province of the Abruzzo. One hundred thousand Ducats, or about forty-five thousand pounds, were levied on the wretched inhabitants; who, from their inability to raise so vast a sum, were reduced, after selling all the plate found in the churches, to mortgage the crop of saffron belonging to the town[m]. The Prince, not less an enemy to

CHAP. IX. 1507—1529.

Tyranny of the viceroys.

Confiscations.

[l] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 21—43.

[m] Ibid. p. 44.

the

CHAP. IX.

1507—1529. Government of the Prince of Orange.

the fine arts, than rapacious and oppressive in his government, spared no monument, however venerable; and the Neapolitans saw with peculiar indignation, among the edifices in the neighbourhood of Naples which he caused to be demolished, the famous Villa of "Mergellina," constructed by the poet Sannazarius their countryman, and dedicated by him to the muses.[n]

1529—1532. Cardinal Colonna.

These multiplied disorders and acts of oppression received no effectual redress, during the short administration of Cardinal Colonna, who succeeded to the Prince of Orange. He was a prelate of amiable manners, gallantry, and refinement; whose taste for letters and pleasure had endeared him to the supreme pontiff, Leo the Tenth, by whom he was raised to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. The age, accustomed to behold priests exercising the functions of civil and military professions, regarded without astonishment, a member of the sacred college, Archbishop of Montreal, invested with the office of viceroy and captain-general of Naples. He attempted to re-invigorate the laws which had been wantonly violated under his predecessor, and in the progress of this salutary effort, he even made some severe examples: but the evil demanded time to eradicate it; nor did his government, which only lasted two years, admit him to accomplish so difficult and arduous a task. In raising pecuniary supplies for the Emperor Charles the Fifth, he proved more successful;

Measures of his administration.

[n] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 37.

cessful; and it is not without astonishment that we reflect on his compelling the Neapolitans to send that Prince the sum of nine hundred thousand Ducats, in the course of 1530, and the following year. In return for these prodigious donations exacted from the States, they obtained, indeed, a new confirmation of their privileges: but the viceroys, who were always foreigners, paid little regard either to the immunities, or to the essential and permanent interests of the kingdom. [o]

CHAP. IX. 1529—1532.

In the place of Cardinal Colonna, was substituted Don Pedro de Toledo, who governed Naples with almost unlimited powers, during the space of near twenty-one years. His viceroyalty, which forms a memorable Epocha in the annals of the country, demands and fixes attention. We are impressed with horror at finding, by his own confession to one of the confidential secretaries of his son-in-law Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, that during the progress of his administration, he put to death near eighteen thousand persons, by the hand of the executioner. Yet a fact still more extraordinary is that Giannoné, himself a Neapolitan, and one of the ablest, as well as most impartial historians, whom the eighteenth century has produced; not only acquits, but even commends Toledo's severity, as equally wholesome and necessary [p]. In order to explain this seeming paradox, we must take a survey of the condition of the kingdom, and

1532. Viceroyalty of Pedro de Toledo.

[o] Giannone, vol. iv. p. 52—61.

[p] Ibid. p. 66.

parti-

CHAP. IX.

particularly of the capital, at the time of Toledo's arrival. It will convey an idea of the manners, or rather of the licentiousness approaching to anarchy, which then prevailed in Naples. To so deplorable a state of contempt, it appears, were fallen the courts of judicature, that the nobles not only openly employed importunities and presents, to corrupt the judges; but menaces and violence were added, whenever they became necessary for the liberation of a prisoner. The streets of Naples were infested with robbers, who rendered the passage through them unsafe, peculiarly in the night; and these Banditti had even the audacity to form themselves into bands so numerous, as to set the laws at defiance. The great Barons not only afforded them refuge and protection; but, as their palaces possessed the privilege of asylums, in which the culprit became secure from punishment, many of the most desperate of these wretches were retained and paid by the nobility. The state of public morals seems to have been in the highest degree dissolute and relaxed. The voluptuous shore of Baiæ, which from the earliest antiquity had been consecrated to every species of dissolute pleasure; and to which the Cæsars retired from the splendor and fatigue of the Imperial functions, to indulge in dissipation, or to riot in criminal excesses; continued still to retain its characteristic qualities. Debaucheries the most contrary to nature, were avowedly tolerated; while the sale of daughters by their parents, for purposes of prosti-

1532. State of Naples at Toledo's arrival.

Dissolution of manners.

prostitution, scarcely excited comment or dis- CHAP. IX.
approbation, from the universality of the prac- 1532.
tice. The Prince of Orange himself, during his government, had permitted, and even encouraged by his example, the crime of carrying off women by violence; nor could any rank, or any place, however elevated or sacred, secure the honour of the sex. Outrages were daily committed, and monasteries entered by force, from whence they were taken with impunity. Similar enormities prevailed in the provinces, where oppressions of every kind were exercised by the Barons. [q]

1532—1545. Severe administration of Toledo.

The inflexible and stern character of the viceroy speedily redressed these grievances, and finally restored order in the capital. His regulations were sustained by prompt and exemplary punishment; nor did any dignity or connexions, however high, protect an offender. The Counts Pignatelli and Policastro, two noblemen whose crimes had long defied justice, were seized, tried, and put to death. A young man of condition, detected in placing a ladder of ropes against the house of a lady, with intent to violate her person, was beheaded, notwithstanding the most powerful intercession; and these examples, followed by others, soon produced a salutary change in the manners which had so long prevailed at Naples. All the tribunals underwent a severe examination, and justice began again to preside in their determinations [r]. Proceeding from the reformation, to the

[q] Giannoné, vol. v. p. 66—70.
[r] Ibid. p. 70—76.

embel-

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1532—1545.

Beneficial, and elegant institutions.

embellishment of the city, he erected the magnificent palace, since uniformly appropriated to the residence of the viceroys; removed the numerous Arcades and porticoes which afforded shelter to assassins, and caused the streets to be enlarged as well as paved. Fountains, constructed by his orders, dispensed water to the different quarters of the capital; and a regulation which above all others contributed to its salubrity, was effected by Toledo; that of draining the country in its vicinity, and procuring for the stagnant waters, a free passage into the sea. The famous grotto of Paulisippo, an excavation of unknown and remote antiquity, far anterior to the Roman conquest of Naples; through which lay the road to Pouzzoli, was widened and repaired by Toledo; who delighted to retire from the fatigues of business, to the delightful coast of Baiæ, where he always passed a considerable portion of the winter months. When Pouzzoli had been completely laid in ashes, by the awful subterraneous fires which broke out in its neighbourhood about the year 1536, and drove the terrified inhabitants to take shelter in Naples; the viceroy encouraged them by his presence and example, to return thither, and to rebuild the place, which rose more beautiful from its ruins. His activity and vigilance which were by no means confined to the capital, embraced the remote dependencies. All the provinces experienced equal attention, and became the objects of his personal inspection. The unprotected coasts of Calabria and of Apulia, subject

Protection of the coasts against the Turks.

to the continual devastation of the Turks, who landed from their gallies; were fortified with towers and beacons, to announce the enemy's approach: while from Reggio, placed nearly at the southern extremity of Italy, to the frontier of the papal territories, all the towns were put into a posture of defence. The kingdom, which under preceding viceroys had been left a prey to every species of licentiousness, manifested by its obedience and tranquillity, the effects of a wise and vigorous administration.[s]

CHAP. IX. 1532—1545.

Repeated attempts were made by Solyman the Second, Emperor of the Turks, either alone, or in conjunction with the fleets of France, to effect the conquest of Naples, during this period: but the exertions of Toledo were happily attended with success, in repulsing the Turkish invaders, and in rescuing the country committed to his charge. Though he was able to oppose insurmountable obstacles to the reduction, he could not, however, prevent the pillage of the kingdom. In no part of the middle ages, either under the feeble tyranny of the Byzantine Emperors of Constantinople, or during the decline of the Saracens, were the coasts of Naples and Sicily so frequently plundered, ravaged, and desolated, as at this period. Thousands of persons of both sexes, and of all conditions, were carried off by Barbarossa, Dragut, Sinan, aud the other Bashaws, or admirals of the Porte. Not content with landing on the shores, and ravaging the provinces, their squa-

Invasions and depredations of the Turkish fleets.

[s] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 87—97.

CHAP. IX. 1532—1545.

drons perpetually appeared in sight of Naples; laid waste the islands of Ischia and Procida, situate in its immediate vicinity; attacked the towns of Pouzzoli and Baiæ; and committed every outrage of wanton barbarity. In 1534, Barbarossa, after having sailed, unopposed, through the Faro of Messina; having destroyed seven gallies, constructing at Monté Cassino; and terrified the capital itself; insolently detached some of his vessels to the port of Fondi, in order to carry off Julia de Gonzaga, esteemed one of the most beautiful women in the world. He had destined this lady, the pride of Italy, for the Seraglio of Solyman; and the Turks landing in the night, she had only time to escape over the mountains, on horseback, almost in a state of nudity. Fondi experienced the vengeance of the disappointed Mahometans, who sacked it without mercy [t]. The invasion of 1552, when Dragut blocked up the harbour of Naples, with a hundred and fifty large gallies, during near four weeks, spread still greater consternation; and if the fleet of France had arrived, as had been concerted, it is more than probable that the city must have fallen into their hands. But, the delays of Henry the Second, Solyman's ally, proved its preservation. The Turkish admiral, corrupted by a present of two hundred thousand Ducats, which the Viceroy found means of conveying to him, retired, and made sail for Constantinople [u]. We need no more con-

Barbarossa.

Dragut.

[t] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 77.

vincing

vincing proof of the defenceless state of the kingdom, than the necessity for adopting so humiliating an expedient. It was imitated with similar success, by Catherine, the wife of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, in 1711, when she extricated his army upon the banks of the river Pruth, by corrupting the Turkish Grand Vizier.

Arrival of Charles the Fifth, at Naples.

The Emperor Charles the Fifth, who like the Roman Emperor Adrian, was continually occupied in the survey of his vast dominions; after his triumphant expedition against Tunis in 1535, having made a public entry into Naples, remained during the whole winter, in that capital. All the nobility of Italy crouded to behold him; and Don Pedro, the Viceroy, exhausted every pleasure, in order to detain and gratify so illustrious a guest. But, Charles, who foresaw the war in which he was likely to be engaged against Francis the First, having convened the States, demanded a supply proportionate to the danger with which he was menaced, from the united forces of the French and Turks. The Neapolitans, captivated with the gracious demeanor of their sovereign, and desirous to prove their zealous attachment to his person and government; without examining into the means by which the sum might be raised, instantly granted him a million and a half of Ducats; a sum exceeding six hundred thousand pounds sterling. The Emperor himself was so sensible of the impossibility of re-

Loyalty and liberality of the Neapolitans.

[u] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 169, 170.

CHAP. IX. 1532—1545.

alizing the money, that he instantly remitted one third of it; contenting himself with the remainder. A circumstance highly deserving attention, because it proves the wealth and preponderance of the nobility, as well as the poverty of the inferior orders; is that when the assembly met, in order to deliberate on the mode of levying so enormous a supply, it was agreed that the Barons should furnish three-fourths, while the people only raised the remaining quarter. The fact furnishes incontestable evidence, that the former body of subjects possessed almost the whole property of the State. [x]

Charles refuses to dismiss Toledo.

Presuming on the merit and loyalty of their late conduct, the nobility, by whom the Viceroy, on account of his rigor and impartiality, was universally detested, endeavoured to procure from the Emperor, his dismission. But, Charles, however highly gratified he might be by the demonstrations of liberality which his Neapolitan subjects had given him, was not disposed to grant their request. He esteemed Toledo for the severity of his administration; and far from withdrawing the authority antecedently delegated to that nobleman, he, before his final departure, augmented and enlarged the Viceroy's power. A confirmation of their antient privileges, which Charles readily granted, formed the only compensation obtained for so vast a supply, as he had drawn from the kingdom of Naples [y]. That country, though molested by the Turks, continued in a state of

Expulsion of the Jews.

[x] Giannone, vol. iv. p. 85—87. [y] Ibid. p. 84—87.

internal repose, for several years; during which period, the Jews, who had settled in great numbers, both in the capital and the provinces, were expelled. Their usury constituted the pretext for an act of such impolitic violence; but the religious antipathy in which they were held, stimulated the government to proceed to extremities. The expulsion of the Jews from Naples, was felt in a greater degree, because the usurious exaction of large interest, far from being diminished by their departure, became on the contrary encreased, when the Christians remained without competitors in so lucrative a branch of traffic. [a]

1532—1545.

Ineffectual attempt to introduce the Inquisition. 1546.

The administration of Toledo, which had only acquired force by the unsuccessful opposition of the nobles to his measures of policy, was notwithstanding, completely subverted, from the moment that he attempted to introduce the Inquisition. Ferdinand the Catholic, in violation of the oath which he had taken, on receiving the submission of the Neapolitans, after the expulsion of the Arragonese kings; made a feeble and fruitless effort, to establish Inquisitors-General at Naples. They were compelled to desist, without exercising any function; and the experiment was not renewed for more than forty years. The doctrines of Luther, notwithstanding the perpetual vigilance of the viceroys, had gradually penetrated into the south of Italy. Many persons of the highest rank, male and female; even some, among the monastic

[a] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 97—99.

CHAP. IX. 1546.

orders, had either openly embraced, or secretly cherished the Reformation. The watchful and bigotted precautions of the Viceroy, checked, but could not extinguish, the spirit of religious enquiry. In order to repress disquisition on these subjects, and with a view to preclude information, he therefore not only caused all books suspected of containing heretical tenets, to be burnt; while he prohibited under rigorous penalties, the printing, or retaining any such productions: but he even suppressed all the literary academies, instituted for the encouragement of polite letters, rhetoric, philosophy, and poetry [b]. The Emperor sustained him in these acts of severity, which evidently tended to banish knowledge, and to prevent the introduction of every branch of science. In his zeal for maintaining the purity of the Catholic faith, he even sent orders to Toledo, without further delay to attempt the introduction of the Inquisition itself. Conscious of the hazard incurred by such an experiment, and aware of the consequences which might arise from it, that minister, contrary to his natural genius, proceeded by indirect and gentle methods. While he caused the Imperial edict to be rendered public, through the medium of the Archbishop of Naples, he retired to Pouzzoli, as if uninterested in its success. But, the Neapolitans, patient under every other species of oppression, instantly revolted at the establishment of the Inquisition. They even

Measures, to impede the progress of knowledge.

Revolt of the Neapolitans.

[b] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 107—117.

forgot,

forgot, in the general terror, the distinction of ranks; and the Barons united with their fellow-citizens, to oppose that formidable tribunal. The Viceroy, returning to the capital, reinforced by three thousand veteran Spaniards, determined nevertheless to support the measure. Hostilities took place, and the city, during near three months, was abandoned to anarchy, while the inhabitants having invested the castle, besieged their governor. They persisted, notwithstanding, invariably in their allegiance to Charles the Fifth, as their sovereign; and only demanded the abolition of the holy office, as the price of their immediate submission. The Emperor, convinced by experience of the impracticability of success in his attempt, at length desisted; commanded the Inquisitors to cease all further exercise of their powers; and granted an amnesty to the Neapolitans, on condition of their paying a fine of a hundred thousand crowns. [c]

CHAP. IX. 1546.

Amnesty granted to the insurgents.

The Viceroy, who survived this unsuccessful contest during several years, continued till his decease, to retain the favor of his sovereign. The close of Toledo's life became tinctured with cruelty; and a rebellion which was excited by the Prince of Salerno, gave ample scope to the natural severity of his temper. Age, together with the progress of a disease contracted by fatigue, terminated his long administration, at Florence; to which city he had conducted

Death of Toledo. 1546—1553.

[c] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 117—136.

CHAP. IX. 1546—1553. the Imperial forces, destined to act against Sienna. He was succeeded by the Cardinal Pacheco, as Viceroy; and the abdication of Charles the Fifth, in the following year, devolved on his son Philip the Second, the sovereignty of Naples [d]. Alarmed at the preparations made by Henry the Second, King of France, in conjunction with Paul the Fourth, who had newly ascended the papal throne, Philip dispatched Ferdinand, Duke of Alva, to the aid of his Neapolitan subjects; and to the vigorous measures embraced by him on his arrival, was due the safety of the kingdom. No event can more clearly manifest the change that had taken place since the accession of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the profound submission established by the Spanish viceroys, thro'out that country, than the ill success which attended the French invasion, though conducted by one of the greatest generals of the sixteenth century. The forces of Charles the Eighth, and of Louis the Twelfth, had successively entered, and subjected Naples, almost without opposition. But, when Francis, Duke of Guise, at the head of a disciplined army, attempted to penetrate into the province of the Abruzzo, which forms the northern frontier; far from finding any symptoms of disaffection to the established government, he was repulsed before the little town of Civitella, situate on the borders, and compelled to retreat with loss, into the papal territories. The

1554—1557. War with France.

Unsuccessful invasion of the Duke of Guise.

[d] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 166—174. Galluzzi, Hist. de Toscane, vol. ii. p. 57—59.

Duke

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Duke of Alva, sustained by a body of Spanish veterans, not only awed such of the nobility as were disposed to revolt; but, prevented either the clergy or the people from declaring in favor of the invaders: and France, instructed by experience, desisted ever afterwards from any further attempt to recover the crown of Naples. [e]

1554—1557.

The administration of the Duke of Alcala, to whom Philip delegated the supreme power, soon after the recall of Alva, lasted near twelve years, and was marked by almost every species of calamity. Famine equally afflicted the capital and the provinces; while earthquakes encreased the general consternation. The Turks, who in 1558, under the Bashaw Mustapha, had burnt Reggio, and had carried off into captivity the inhabitants of Massa, and of Sorrento, continued to desolate the coasts: they even pushed their audacity to such a length, as to pillage and massacre the people in the Chiaia, one of the suburbs of Naples. It is difficult to adduce a stronger proof of the defenceless and unprotected state in which the kingdom was left, while governed by so powerful a monarch as Philip the Second, sovereign of Spain, as well as master of Mexico and Peru [f]. Internal commotions added their scourge to foreign invasion. An insurrection, commenced by a troop of lawless robbers, who elected for their leader Mark Berardi, a native of

1558—1571. Administration of the Duke of Alcala.

Insurrection.

[e] Abregé Chron. d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 326—330. Leti, Vie de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 120—136, and p. 156—164.

[f] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 222, and p. 233, 234. Leti, vol. ii. p. 393, 394.

Cosenza

CHAP. IX. 1558—1571.

Cosenza in Calabria, long plunged that remote province into confusion. He was stiled the King Marconé, by his followers; and was not reduced without difficulty, even by regular troops. The court of Madrid, deeply sensible to so humiliating an indignity, stimulated the Viceroy by reproaches, not to allow the majesty of the throne to be thus trampled on with impunity [g].

Persecutions of heretics.

Philip found it a more easy task to exterminate the doctrines of the Reformation, which had long remained dormant in the villages of the Further Calabria, at the foot of the Appennines, than to subject his rebellious subjects. Information of the existence of this heresy had no sooner reached him, than he issued peremptory orders to the Duke of Alcala, to put the inhabitants, indiscriminately, to the sword; and his savage directions were obeyed in their full extent. The people of Guardia and St. Sixtus, two small towns, having refused, notwithstanding every menace, to abandon their faith, were massacred. Sixty, reserved for the executioner, perished either by fire, or by the gibbet [h]. Even in the city of Naples, some terrible examples of the same sanguinary and persecuting spirit, were exhibited. In 1564, two heretics were beheaded, their bodies reduced to ashes, and so severe an enquiry was begun, with a view to discover all persons suspected of having embraced the Lutheran opinions, that the inhabitants, terrified at the prospect of seeing the In-

[g] Leti, vol. ii. p. 473—477.
[h] Ibid. Vie de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 371, 372.

quisition gradually established, prepared again to rise in arms against its introduction, as they had done under Charles the Fifth. During several months, they continued in a state approaching to revolt; till Philip, rendered cautious by his father's experience, and apprehensive of the consequences that might result from his own intolerance, sent assurances of his determination never to attempt the revival of that odious tribunal.[i] CHAP. IX. 1558—1571.

The incursions and devastations of the Turks, far from diminishing, appeared to augment under the administration of Cardinal Granvelle, who succeeded to the Duke of Alcala, as Viceroy. Even the victory of Lepanto, which was so much extolled, if not exaggerated, by the contemporary historians, afforded a very transitory respite to the misfortunes of the Neapolitans. Only two years afterwards, while the city of Naples was occupied in exhibiting magnificent diversions for the birth of a prince of Spain; intelligence arrived that the Ottoman fleet, more formidable than before its recent defeat, had appeared on the coast of Apulia, in the neighbourhood of Otranto, and renewed its accustomed ravages. Tunis, which Don John of Austria had taken from Selim the Second, was reconquered by the same enemy; and the Cardinal Viceroy found himself under a necessity of calling out the militia, to the number of near thirty thousand, in order to protect the kingdom from an expected invasion.[k] 1571—1574. Cardinal Granvelle.

[i] Leti, vol. ii. p. 491, 492. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 136—153

[k] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 332—340.

To

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1574. Condition of the kingdom of Naples, at this period.

To so ruined, as well as degraded a condition, had the Spaniards reduced Naples, in the space of about seventy years, which had elapsed since the expulsion of the French, by Gonsalvo de Cordova. A survey of their principles of government and policy, will too satisfactorily account for this declension, which was common to every other province of that vast, ill-administered, and disjointed monarchy. It seemed to constitute the invariable maxim of the viceroys, while they depressed the national spirit, to extinguish science, and to impoverish the people by the most oppressive exactions. The Spanish despotism was not softened or mitigated by any of those arts, that conceal in some degree, the slavery which they confirm. Their laws appeared indeed, frequently to be the result of wisdom and justice; but, unfortunately, no attention was paid to enforce their execution. Even the privileges, which, by perpetual donations of money, the Neapolitans purchased from their sovereigns, were infringed and disregarded. All the great offices were held by Spaniards: the post of General of the gallies, of which they were peculiarly jealous and tenacious, was never entrusted to a native; though the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, in 1536, during his stay at Naples, in return for the testimonies of loyalty and liberality which he received, had in general terms assured the States, that as far as circumstances would permit, that employment should in future be always conferred on a noble Neapolitan.[1]

Despotism of the Spaniards.

[1] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 728, 729, and vol. iv. p. 85, 86.

When

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1574.

When we consider the vast sums extorted by Philip the Second, from the kingdom, in the space of only about twenty years after his accession, we are filled with wonder, at the ability of the people to sustain such heavy impositions. The short war, maintained in 1557, against Henry the Second and his allies, the Caraffas, cost Naples two millions, six hundred thousand Ducats[m]. The Duke of Alcala, whose affability of manners, and attentions to the nobility, had rendered him extremely popular, exerted himself with so much dexterity and address, as to procure, between 1564 and 1570, in four distinct assemblies of the States, no less an aggregate sum than four millions, four hundred thousand Ducats[n]. During the viceroyalty of his successor, Cardinal Granvelle, these exactions continued. Philip the Second, engaged in a ruinous and expensive war with his Flemish subjects, in which his tyranny and religious persecution had involved him, found all his treasures unequal to their subjection. In order to enable him to maintain his forces in that country, he drained his other dominions, impoverished Spain itself, and eventually alienated the royal domains. The money thus levied from the Neapolitans, instead of remaining among them, and returning into circulation, was transmitted to Flanders. Compelled by his perpetual necessities, and actuated by an insatiable

Pecuniary impositions.

Pernicious exactions.

[m] Considerably more than a million sterling. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 222.

[n] Near two millions sterling. Giannoné, iv. p. 327.

thirst

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thirst of power, Philip had recourse to the most pernicious and destructive expedients, to obtain money. In Naples and Sicily, which he treated as vanquished provinces, no measures were observed towards the people. The cities and lands belonging to the crown, were sold; the produce of the taxes, anticipated and mortgaged; titles and employments were put up to sale, and every thing became venal. The only quality indispensable for a Viceroy, was the capacity of extracting, and remitting sums to Spain. °

Profusion of the government.

As if to augment the calamity, and to render it irremediable, the utmost profusion and want of œconomy prevailed in the expenditure of the public revenue. Notwithstanding the immense receipt from so many kingdoms and provinces, in Europe and in America, Philip became annually more embarrassed in his finances: even his troops perpetually revolted, from the failure of their pay. The Neapolitans were exhausted, in order to maintain wars, with which they had not the most remote connexion; and from the success of which, however complete, they could not derive any possible advantage: while at the same time, their coasts were ravaged, and their cities desolated by the Turks. It is impossible to estimate, or to calculate the extent of loss suffered from that implacable enemy, between the years 1504, and 1574. The hostilities being carried on, not as between

Depredations of the Turks.

° Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 333, 334.

two

two states engaged in a national struggle for superiority; but, as a conflict between Christians and Infidels, there intervened neither peace nor truce, under the reign of Charles the Fifth, nor during a considerable part of that of Philip the Second. Religious antipathy encreased, as well as embittered the mutual rancour; and such numbers of the inhabitants were carried into captivity, that the sea-shore became totally abandoned in many parts of Calabria and Apulia. Vast sums were annually transmitted to Constantinople, in order to ransom these unfortunate individuals; an evil which was rendered greater, from the circumstance of the Turks never extending similar attention to their own countrymen, who fell into the hands of the Christians. [P] CHAP. IX. 1574.

Under so oppressive, as well as incapable a government, it cannot form matter of surprize, that manufactures and commerce not only declined, but, became almost extinct. The kingdom of Naples, favored by nature above any other part of Europe; enjoying the finest climate; surrounded on three sides by the Mediterranean, in the midst of which sea it is situated; abounding in ports and harbours; calculated by its happy position, to maintain a beneficial intercourse with the Levant, Egypt, Syria, and the coast of Barbary; producing many of the most valuable articles of foreign consumption, and capable of carrying on a very extensive trade;—this beautiful country was not only desti- Decline of commerce.

[P] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 333, and p. 335, and p. 341, and p. 347.

tute

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1574.

tute of shipping, but wholly devoid of mercantile industry and emulation. Famine, which frequently visited the capital, drove the inhabitants to demand bread of their viceroys, with importunity and menaces [q]. The total absence of the sovereign, and the distance of Madrid, where that sovereign constantly resided, aggravated the general misfortunes. Charles the Fifth, a prince of activity and energy, had repeatedly visited Naples in person; but, none of his successors on the throne of Spain ever followed the example. Philip the Second, immured in the gloom of the Escurial, affected to govern his immense dominions, from the recesses of his cabinet; and after having once retired to Spain, from the more active theatre of the Low Countries, no inducements or exhortations were sufficiently powerful to prevail on him again to quit that country. He remained equally deaf to the entreaties of the Neapolitans, and obdurate to the cries of the Flemings. The effect of so degrading a tyranny seemed to extinguish all exertion in the human mind; and we find scarcely any men of genius or eminent talents, among the Neapolitans of this period. Sannazar belongs to an earlier age, having flourished under the Arragonese Dynasty of kings, who were expelled early in the sixteenth century, from Naples. He even accompanied Frederic, last sovereign of that unfortunate line, when Louis the Twelfth sent him prisoner into France;

Depression of the human mind.

[q] Giannoné, passim.

and

1574. Sannazar.

and Sannazar remained with his captive master till his decease, when the poet revisited Italy. After having witnessed the subversion of his country, and its subjection to Spain, he is said to have died of the violence of his emotions, on receiving intelligence of the demolition of his seat and gardens at Mergellina in the vicinity of Naples, by Philibert de Chalons, Prince of Orange, who commanded the forces of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. This event took place in 1530, when Sannazar had passed his seventieth year. His poetic compositions were written in Latin, as well as in Italian; but he is chiefly known to us in the present century, by his "Arcadia;" pastorals, which were published at Naples in 1502, in the latter of those languages. They differ in one feature, from any compositions known to antiquity of the same description; neither Theocritus nor Virgil having laid the scene of their Idylliums or Bucolics, on the element of the water. The shepherds of Sannazar are all fishermen. But we must recollect, that the scene of his pastorals lies on the delicious shores, and in the soft climate of the south of Italy. Des Houlieres among the French, or Philips among us, could not have placed their swains and shepherdesses on the coast of Poitou, or on that of Cornwall, exposed to the rage of Atlantic storms, and to the severity of a northern climate. Sannazar left no poetic successor behind him among the Neapolitans. A gloom overspread that charming portion of Europe, after its reduction by Gonsalvo de Cordova under the

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dominion of Ferdinand the Catholic. The Spaniards, who dreaded the energy which accompanies knowledge, spared no endeavours to impede the entrance of science among the people. Even the fine arts were slow in their progress, while Rome, Venice, and Florence, abounded in the most eminent artists. It was not till towards the close of Toledo's administration, as late as 1553, that theatrical exhibitions were performed for the first time, at Naples. Even then, the actors were brought thither from Sienna, as well as the dramatic pieces and comedies represented on the stage[r]. The Duke of Alcala, and Cardinal Granvelle, seem to have paid some attention to the police of the metropolis; and the former Viceroy commanded exact registers to be kept of all births[s]. In order to restrain the national propensity to games of chance, which in every age has characterized the Neapolitans, it was prohibited by the latter Viceroy, for any person to risk at play, a greater sum than ten Ducats, in the course of the same day[t]. These remarks may appear too minute for the dignity of history; but every political or municipal regulation, by which manners are humanized, or society becomes polished and improved, better merits commemoration, than descriptions of sieges, or the details of war and slaughter.

State of the Arts.

[r] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 224. [s] Ibid. p. 330. [t] Ibid. p. 344.

CHAP. X.

GENOA.

Survey of the Genoese state and history, during the middle ages.—Its power, commerce, and revolutions.—Decline of the Genoese greatness, after the subversion of the Greek empire.—Establishment of the Republic by Andrew Doria. Conspiracy of Fiesco.—Death, and character of Doria.—Revolt of Corsica.—Domestic dissensions.—State of Genoa, in 1574.—Its dependance on Spain.—Policy of Philip the Second.—Origin of the practice of funding.—History of the bank of "St. "George."—Political consequences of that institution.

CHAP. X.

Grandeur, and commerce of Genoa, in the middle ages.

GENOA stands confessedly at the head of the smaller Italian states; and like Venice, forms an object of great curiosity, during the middle ages. The disadvantages of its local situation, at the foot of the mountains of the Appennines, on the barren shore of Liguria, together with the sterility of its contracted territory, were amply compensated by the enjoyment of freedom and commerce. Their fleets, which covered the Mediterranean, navigated likewise the Black Sea, ascended the Nile, and divided with the commonwealth of Pisa, the profits of a vast and lucrative trade, as early as the twelfth century. These two small, and rival Republics,

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which like Sparta and Athens, were frequently engaged in hostilities, possessed incredible resources, and effected, either partially or totally, many important conquests. The Genoese obtained, even before the year 1100 of the Christian Era, very ample immunities, and commercial exemptions or privileges, from the princes who during the course of the first Cruzades, had invaded and conquered Palestine; as a return for the assistance extended by the Republic, in transporting troops, and carrying supplies of provisions to the coast of Syria. Michael Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, whom they aided to recover the Byzantine throne, of which the Latin princes had deprived him, ceded to the Genoese a suburb of the Imperial city itself; and together with it, the island of Chios in the Archipelago, so famous among the antients, for the delicacy of its wines. This extraordinary and memorable event took place in 1261[a]. When Louis the Ninth, King of France, undertook the Cruzade and invasion of Tunis, nine years later, in 1270, before which city he expired; the Genoese furnished the shipping, which conveyed the French monarch and his army over to the shore of Africa[b]. In the course of that century, continually extending their acquisitions, they became masters of the Port of Caffa in the Peninsula of the Crimea, the Theodosia of the Romans; contested with Venice, for

Conquests of the Republic.

[a] Hist. de Genes, en 3 tomes, vol. i. p. 121—123.
[b] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 732.

the

the navigation and commerce of the Euxine; and possessed factories or establishments in Egypt, as well as thro'out every part of the Levant. [c] CHAP. X.

Notwithstanding the internal feuds and dissensions, which perpetually agitated the Commonwealth, Genoa still continued in a progressive state of improvement and aggrandizement. Even the vast naval armaments, fitted out to combat their rivals the Venetians; followed by the defeats which they occasionally sustained in their contest with that power, do not appear to have exhausted their revenues, or to have impaired their national vigor. In 1373, a powerful fleet and army effected the reduction of the island of Cyprus; though the magnanimity or the policy of the Genoese commander, induced him only to retain possession of Famagosta, the capital. Six years afterwards, their forces besieged the city of Venice itself, and seemed to be on the point of subjecting or destroying the Venetian republic [d]. These great exertions impress with the more wonder, as during the space of fourteen years, which intervened from 1317 to 1332, Genoa was convulsed and desolated by the two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibbelines, to such a degree, as to reduce the coast of Liguria, on which the city is situated, to the condition of a desert: but, their industry and extensive trade repaired these temporary misfortunes [e]. Early in the fourteenth century, the inhabitants, by a

1300—1396.

Internal feuds and convulsions.

[c] Hist. de Genes, vol. i. v. 137—161.
[d] Ibid. p. 227—229, and p. 240—254.
[e] Ibid. p. 170—182. Villani, liv. ix.

CHAP. X. 1300—1396.

voluntary act, elected the Emperor Henry the Seventh, of the house of Luxembourg, for their governor or patron, during the term of twenty years; and they accompanied this mark of their confidence, with an annual pecuniary donation of considerable magnitude. The office with which they had invested Henry, appears however to have been more titular than real, and did not affect the independance of the State, as a free commonwealth [f]. His death having taken place two years afterwards, and Robert, King of Naples, coming in person to the assistance of Genoa in 1318, at that time besieged by the Ghibbelines; the gratitude of the people towards their royal deliverer, induced them to delegate the sovereignty to him for ten years. The term was prolonged before its expiration, for six additional years; but, at its conclusion, the Genoese, among whom new political changes had arisen, having compelled the vicar of the King of Naples to withdraw, resumed their republican form of constitution [g]. Its duration was short; for in 1353, their fleet having sustained a complete overthrow by the Venetians, the consternation which that calamity occasioned, was such, as reduced them to claim the protection of John Visconti, Archbishop and Lord of Milan. He held the sovereignty only about three years; and the Republic again re-

Election of various Princes to the sovereignty.

Changes in the government.

[f] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 733. Hist de Genes, vol. i. p. 167.
[g] Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 173, and p. 194—211.

lapsed

lapsed into anarchy, rather than recovered its freedom, after his decease[h]. They continued, notwithstanding, during forty years, to retain the appearance of liberty, and to extend their commerce, though Genoa became a prey to the most inveterate factions: but, towards the close of the fourteenth century, wearied with dissensions which exhausted their strength, and despairing of the establishment of tranquillity, they sent delegates to Charles the Sixth, King of France, offering him their submission in perpetuity. He accepted the proposal, and took possession of the city.[i]

CHAP. X.

1300—1396.

1396.

From this period, for the space of near a hundred and thirty years, the history of Genoa presents only the picture of a state abandoned to perpetual fluctuations; destitute of order, or of subordination; and transferring its allegiance successively to France, to the Dukes of Milan, the Marquisses of Montferrat, or the Emperors of Germany, as the caprice of a tumultuous populace dictated, or the ambition of its leaders impelled. Subjected repeatedly by all these powers, tyrannized by their governors, and held in awe by citadels, they only emerged from oppression, to relapse into it with greater violence. Their foreign possessions, which had been so numerous and so considerable, along the coasts of the Black Sea, and in the Archipelago, gradually fell into the hands of the Turks,

1397—1521. Declension of Genoa.

[h] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 409. Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 212—216.

[i] Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 286—294.

CHAP. X.

1397—1521. Justiniani, sent to the relief of Constantinople.

as that formidable race advanced under their Sultans, towards the final conquest of the Greek empire[k]. Yet, in 1453, the Genoese, who then enjoyed an interval of freedom, made a magnanimous use of it, by sending a naval and military force to the assistance of Constantinople, besieged by Mahomet the Second. It ought never to be forgotten that this succour, consisting of nine hundred men, constituted the only effectual aid given to the Emperors of the East, by any of the European powers; the fleet which was dispatched by the Venetians for the same purpose, not arriving till after the capture of the Imperial city. Justiniani, who commanded the troops of Genoa, signalized himself, and died of the wounds received in the attack, which rendered Mahomet master of Constantinople. Pera surrendered on the following day, to the conqueror; and the loss sustained by the Genoese, was not only great, but proved ruinous to their commerce[l]. Caffa, together with many inferior settlements in the Crimea, and on the shore of Anatolia, were subjected to the same power, in 1475; and the vast trade, which, by means of these possessions, Genoa had carried on for near two hundred years, with the Tartar nations, from the mouth of the Bosphorus, to the sea of Azof, became totally extinct.

[k] Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 294—391, passim; and vol. ii. p. 1—143, passim.

[l] Laugier, Hist. de Venise, vol. vii. p. 70—74. La Croix, Abrégé Chronol. de l'Hist. Ottomane, vol. i. p. 236—242. Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 12, 13.

The

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The Republic, if it could with propriety be said to deserve that appellation, oppressed beneath the odious and feeble tyranny of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, was too much occupied with its domestic misfortunes, either to send proper support to its distant colonies, or to attend to their preservation. [m] 1397—1521.

Revolutions in the government of Genoa.

All the calamities incident to a state, incapable of liberty, and yet impatient of servitude, like antient Rome towards the extinction of the Commonwealth, were redoubled at the commencement of the sixteenth century. Genoa, in the course of a few years, passed through numerous revolutions, which alternately transferred the supreme power to the Kings of France, or to the Emperors of Germany, as the French, or the Imperial faction, predominated within its walls. Louis the Twelfth, yielding to the impulse of his placable and beneficent disposition, repeatedly pardoned their insurrections. But, the Marquis of Pescara, who commanded the army of Charles the Fifth, more ferocious, when after a regular siege he became master of the city, in violation of the articles of surrender, abandoned it to pillage. Genoa was at that time regarded as only inferior to Venice in opulence; and its commerce, though much diminished, remained still very considerable [n]. Francis the First, aided by the celebrated Andrew Doria, Admiral of the Genoese gallies, 1522. 1527.

[m] La Croix, vol. i. p. 278. Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 38, 39.

[n] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 134, 135.

again

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1527. Doria expels the French.

1528. He restores Genoa to freedom.

again obtained possession of the place soon afterwards: but, having refused to concur with that generous and patriotic citizen, in his request to restore the liberties of his country, Doria profiting of the weakness of the French garrison, attacked and carried the place, without drawing his sword. His adherents had already prepared the people to receive him; and the citadel being surrendered after a short siege, Genoa remained at the disposal of its new master *. It was in this situation, so trying to human virtue, that Doria, who might have established his own individual greatness, and that of his house, on the complete extinction of national freedom, disinterestedly preferred the glory annexed to its revival. He laid the foundations of its prospective permanency, by placing the Republic and all its dependencies, under the protection of the Emperor Charles the Fifth: but, he did it with an express stipulation, that neither in his capacity of head of the German empire, nor as King of Spain, should Charles, or his successors, ever claim any sovereignty over the Genoese; and still less, should exact any species of pecuniary tribute or contribution, as the price of his protection. We may perhaps justly question, whether antiquity can furnish any more sublime example of disinterested patriotism; and we may doubt, whether the virtue of Harmodius and Aristogiton among the Athenians, or that of the elder, or the younger

* Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 143—145.

Brutus,

Brutus, in the history of Rome, was more pure and elevated. CHAP. X.

Having taken these wise precautions, in order to secure his country from external violence, he next endeavoured to provide for its internal tranquillity. For that purpose, he committed the regulation of the State to twelve reformers, who after suppressing even the names of the antient factions, associated under certain restrictions, the people with the nobles, in the form of the government. Content with his own approbation, and satisfied with the veneration which so generous a conduct must necessarily produce in the minds of his fellow-citizens, he retired to his palace; declaring that he emulated no other rank in the councils of Genoa, than that consideration to which he might pretend, in common with others of the nobility, and members of the Commonwealth. The public gratitude conferred on him by general consent, the title of "Father of his Country, and "Restorer of Freedom." To these glorious distinctions, they added the offices of Censor, and Captain-General of the fleet, for his life; accompanied with an exemption from all taxes or impositions of every kind [p]. Lorenzo de Medicis governed Florence by a similar title, in the preceding century. 1528. Disinterestedness of Doria.

Sustained by the ability of Doria, and protected by the arms of Charles the Fifth, the Republic, during near nineteen years subse- 1528—1546. Conspiracy of Fiesco,

[p] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 145, 146. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 462, 463. L'Art. de Verif. vol. iii. p. 738.

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quent to this auspicious revolution, continued in the enjoyment of dignified independance and
1547. repose. But, the memorable conspiracy of Louis Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, the Catiline of Liguria, had nearly subverted Genoa, and reduced it anew to the obedience of France; or exposed it once more to all the misfortunes of anarchy. The massacre of Doria and his family, constituted one of the primary objects of the plot; while the dissimulation, intrepidity, and capacity, which marked its leader at a very early period of life, throughout the prosecution of so hazardous an enterprize, have rendered the attempt one of the most extraordinary related in modern history. It was accompanied with complete success, till the moment of its termi-
quelled. nation. Jeannetin Doria, the heir of that house, having perished by the dagger, and Andrew, his uncle, being with difficulty saved by his servants, who transported him out of the city; the Genoese Senate was about to submit unconditionally to Fiesco, when that nobleman, by a sudden and accidental death, at once rendered abortive his own hopes, and those of his followers. The government resuming courage, expelled the surviving conspirators; and Doria, on his return to the city, sullied the lustre of his high character, by proceeding to acts of cruelty against the brothers and adherents of
1548. the Count of Lavagna [q]. Notwithstanding this

[q] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 161—198. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 738, 739.

culpable

culpable and vindictive excess, he continued invariably firm to the political principles which he had inculcated, for maintaining the freedom of the Commonwealth. Philip, Prince of Spain, son of Charles the Fifth, having visited Genoa in the succeeding year, attempted to induce the senate, under specious pretences of securing their safety, to consent to the construction of a citadel, garrisoned by Spaniards. But, he found in that assembly, as well as in Doria, an insurmountable opposition to the measure, which was rejected with unanimous indignation. [r]

CHAP. X.

1548.

1548—1558. Revolt of Corsica.

The island of Corsica, which had been subjected for ages to Genoa, and which was oppressed by a tyrannical administration, took up arms at this period; and the French having aided the insurgents, they maintained a long and successful struggle against their oppressors. But, the peace, concluded at Cateau between Philip, King of Spain, and Henry the Second, in which the Spanish court dictated terms to France, obliged that nation to evacuate their Corsican acquisitions, and to restore the island to the Genoese [s]. Soon afterwards, at the very advanced age of ninety, Andrew Doria expired in his own palace, surrounded by the people on whom he had conferred freedom and tranquillity; leaving the Commonwealth in domestic repose, and undisturbed by foreign war. He may be considered as one of the most illus-

1559. Death and character of Andrew Doria.

[r] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 198, 199. [s] Ibid. p. 205—211.

trious

CHAP. X. 1559, 1560.

trious persons, whom modern Italy has produced; nor can it be doubted, that if he had lived in the fabulous ages of Greece, altars and temples would have been erected, to commemorate his virtue. His patriotism, and superiority to the thirst of power, which he might have gratified at the expence of the state, have justly given him a high reputation. It is nevertheless probable, that his sagacity, and his intimate knowledge of the Genoese, enabled him to perceive the impracticability of establishing on any solid basis, his own personal authority; while he equally foresaw that they were too weak and turbulent, to subsist as a state, without recurring to the protection of some powerful foreign prince. He, therefore, judiciously put them under the safeguard of the Spanish monarchy, then in the plenitude of its prosperity; and he obtained from the wisdom or moderation of Charles the Fifth, conditions the most favorable for his country. During his whole life he continued to serve that sovereign and his successor, in quality of admiral or commander of the gallies. He even ordered his dying injunctions, enjoining adherence and fidelity to Philip the Second, to be transmitted to his heir; but they were accompanied with the command, to defend the civil liberties of Genoa, at the price of his blood and fortune. Munificent, intrepid, calm in the article of danger, temperate, modest, and inflexibly attached to the principles of justice, Andrew Doria united in his character, many of the most sublime virtues or qualities,

qualities, which can adorn, or elevate humanity. The rare felicity of emancipating his country, and of enjoying for more than thirty years, the perpetual prospect of a Commonwealth, rescued from foreign servitude by his arms and counsels, was reserved for Doria; who may be justly regarded as the most fortunate public man of the age in which he lived [t]. Washington, in whatever light the English contemplate him, may perhaps challenge a similar tribute of gratitude from the Americans, in the last and present century. CHAP. X. 1559, 1560.

The commotions in Corsica, suspended, but not extinguished, which broke out anew shortly afterwards, exhausted the revenues of Genoa, in effecting their suppression. Alfonso Ornano, a native of that island, equally distinguished for his crimes, and for his hatred of the Genoese, who commanded the insurgents, obtained many signal advantages. Even the assistance of a body of German and Spanish auxiliaries, furnished by Philip the Second, as protector of the Republic, proved insufficient to reduce a people exasperated by oppression, and inured to every kind of privation or hardship. The animosity of the two countries, encreased by reciprocal injuries, rose to a degree of fury; and stimulated each party to acts of barbarity, perfidy, and atrocity, unknown in the history of ordinary wars. Poison, assassination, and outrages of every sort, were committed on both sides. 1561—1568. New commotions in Corsica. Submission of the Corsicans.

[t] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 211—213. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 739.

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sides. Ornano having fallen, by the treachery of his own servant, into an ambuscade where he was massacred; after several years of resistance, his son obtained honorable conditions from the Genoese commander. The Corsicans, abandoned by France, whose intestine dissensions under Charles the Ninth, incapacitated the government from interfering with vigor, ultimately submitted to the tyranny of their antient masters[u]. To this foreign war, succeeded domestic misfortunes. Notwithstanding the endeavours which Andrew Doria had so successfully exerted, in order to allay the feuds of the Commonwealth, they were of too inveterate a nature not to revive from a variety of causes. The jealousies subsisting between the antient, and the new nobility, involved the State in confusion, produced a temporary subversion of all government, and compelled the two factions to call in the dangerous interference of foreign powers. Philip the Second offered his arbitration and the Emperor Maximilian the Second tendered his good offices, to terminate the disputes; while the Court of Madrid again ineffectually urged the Genoese to permit the construction of a citadel, to be garrisoned by Spaniards. The old nobility, meanwhile, being overpowered by numbers, quitted the city. Each party took up arms, and mutual hostilities were commenced; nor was it till a year after the termination of the period under review,

1561—1568.

1569—1574.

Internal animosities between the nobility.

[u] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 213—249.

that

CHAP. X.

1569—1574.

that a final accommodation took place, which restored tranquillity to the Republic. [x]

Such was the political situation of Genoa, at this period of time. All those valuable colonies and foreign possessions, as well in the Levant, as in the Euxine, which had given the Commonwealth so great a lustre, and had enabled the Genoese to carry on so beneficial a trade for successive centuries, were irrecoverably lost. Corsica, the only remaining province, desolated by tyranny, and held by violence, produced neither revenue nor advantage, adequate to the expence of perpetually subjecting it by arms. The naval and military forces of the state, which were inadequate to its protection, could not defend the island against any powerful enemy who might attempt its conquest. Philip the Second, whom the Genoese had chosen for their defender, might easily have become their master, and he anxiously desired to reduce Genoa to the same degree of subjection with Milan. Though the Senate and people had rejected the proposal made them by that monarch, for introducing Spanish troops, they were not less, in reality, become dependant upon the court of Madrid. Pensions, gratifications, and lands situate in the kingdom of Naples, which Philip bestowed on the principal nobility, attached them inviolably to him; and Genoa might without injustice be regarded, if not

State of Genoa at this period.

Dependance on Spain.

Pecuniary connexions with that crown.

[x] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 482—500. Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 254—302.

CHAP. X. 1574.

among the provinces, yet as a dependency of Spain. To these powerful bands of connection, was added another tye still more coërcive; namely, the vast sums borrowed by Charles and Philip, of the Genoese, for which they received an enormous interest. The Emperor, incensed at the refusal which his proposition for constructing a citadel, met with from the Republic, had, in 1548, embraced a resolution of never paying the capital; by which measure, the creditors, terrified at the prospect of losing their property, in case of a rupture with Spain, were held in perpetual dependance on that crown. [y]

Loans made to Philip the Second.

Philip pursued the same policy, with great success. He permitted the Genoese to carry on a lucrative commerce in silk, with his Neapolitan dominions, and to import grain from Sicily; besides granting them permission to trade with Milan, Antwerp, and his other possessions. These privileges, revocable at pleasure, when added to the sums in which he stood indebted to the nobility, enabled him to threaten, and to exact obedience. In order to unite their interests indissolubly with those of his own people, he mortgaged to them the dominions of Naples, Sicily, and Milan, as a security for the money which he had borrowed [z]. In 1574, when he wished to oblige the two factions to submit to his decision, he not only

[y] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 199.

[z] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 334. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 339, 340, and p. 347.

refused to discharge the capital; but, he reduced the interest to five *per cent.*, which had been previously at eleven, twelve, and, in some instances, as high as eighteen *per cent.* In the following year, he proceeded to much greater infractions of public faith, by withholding payment of the arrears of interest, and ordering a revision to be made of all accounts for the preceding fifteen years[a]. The old nobility, who were the principal creditors, would have been in a great measure reduced to poverty, by such an inquest, aggravated by the suspension of their receipts. It may be easily conceived, how powerfully this engine must have operated in retaining the Genoese, and fettering their counsels. They were in reality, notwithstanding their apparent freedom, enslaved to Spain.

CHAP. X. 1574.

Origin of the practice of funding.

The system and practice of funding, so general in modern ages, but unknown to the nations of antiquity; by which a factitious circulation is produced, owes its first creation to the Genoese. As early as the year 1407, near three centuries before similar national establishments were formed in France and in England, arose the celebrated "Society or Bank of St. George," at Genoa[b]. It constitutes an object of the most liberal curiosity, to trace the outlines of its origin and progress, not only as it formed in some degree, the model of all those which have successively arisen in

Bank of St. George.

[a] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 286, and p. 299, and p. 33.
[b] Ibid. vol. i. p. 322.

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Europe; but, as it powerfully evinces the extensive commerce, and the credit of the Republic, at that early period, when those advantages were exclusively confined to the Italian states. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Genoese, from the expence attending their wars, and from other causes, having contracted a considerable public debt, mortgaged the revenues to the persons who had thus advanced money to the State. In 1407, the individuals being formed into a corporate body, eight administrators were appointed to regulate its concerns. The creditors themselves chose these directors, who were not only declared to be independant of the government; but, possessed a power of determining finally all matters relative to their constituents. The Doge and the Supreme Council of State, when they entered on the administration of affairs, took an oath never to interfere with, or to violate the privileges of the Bank [c]. It became necessary in 1444, to add eight new directors, who constituted a separate and distinct board from those originally appointed; and a council was afterwards added, composed of one hundred proprietors, vested with unlimited powers [d]. The analogy between these institutions, and those of the Bank of England, or the East India Company, in our own time, is so striking, as to impress every reflecting mind.

History of that institution.

[c] Folietta Hist. Gener. liv. ix.

[d] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 2.

The

CHAP. X.

1574. Fluctuations in the value of the stock.

The fluctuations in the value of the stock, appear to have been very considerable, and to have always borne an exact proportion to the prosperity, or the misfortunes of the Commonwealth. Here again we trace the similarity between Great Britain and Genoa. In the first years after the institution of the Bank, the troubles which were excited by the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, greatly reduced its value: but, on the election of a Doge, acceptable to both parties, in 1415, and the restoration of a temporary calm, the stock, or shares, rose forty-four *per cent.*[e] Previous to the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second, the Republic resigned to the Bank, the island of Corsica, as a security to the holders of stock, for their property: and when, in the year 1453, that Turkish conqueror made himself master of Pera, the shock given to their commerce and credit, was so great, as to induce them to make over to the body of creditors, the city of Caffa in the Crimea, and every other colony or possession situate along the coast of the Black Sea[f]. The calamities, foreign and domestic, were such at this period, that the shares fell sixty-seven *per cent.* before the year 1464[g]. When we read these facts, we are forcibly reminded of the bubbles of the celebrated financier *Law* at Paris, in the Missisippi year 1719; and of the equally ruinous South Sea

[e] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 428.
[f] Ibid. p. 439. Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 12, 13.
[g] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 442.

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scheme of 1720, acted in London. But, when Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, became sovereign of Genoa, the wisdom and vigor of his government soon revived public credit. Such was the confidence excited by these qualities, that the Bank of St. George voluntarily resigned to him in 1465, the sovereignty of the island of Corsica: he notwithstanding declined its acceptance, and immediately restored it to that corporate body.[h]

Under his son, Galeazzo, a weak and dissolute prince, Caffa was lost, the Genoese commerce suffered severe depredations, and the State was again rent by civil war and commotion: but in 1488, Louis Sforza having made himself master of the Republic, credit revived under his able administration, and the shares in the Bank rose proportionally in value[i]. It forms matter of equal admiration and attention, that, during all the revolutions, conspiracies, and political convulsions with which Genoa was affected; no prince ever attempted to violate the privileges enjoyed by the Bank, or to invade the public credit inseparably connected with that institution. In 1508, when Louis the Twelfth, King of France, entered Genoa as a conqueror, caused the records and archives of the Commonwealth to be burnt, and constructed a citadel at the expence of the

Inviolability of the Bank.

[h] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 36.

[i] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 38. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 447.

van-

vanquished citizens; he nevertheless caused a solemn declaration to be registered, importing, that the society of St. George should remain in the possession of all its antient financial rights and prerogatives. To this political inviolability, was owing its permanent credit, which though continually shaken, as constantly revived. [k]

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After the middle of the fifteenth century, some of the most essential and important functions of the sovereign power at Genoa, were devolved on, and executed by the Bank; nor is it easy, in many cases, to discriminate its acts and authority, from those of the State itself. In 1484, that society received the city of Sarzana in deposit, and immediately sent thither a garrison [l]. When Corsica revolted in 1497, they dispatched forces to reduce the island to subjection, and named the general to whom the expedition was entrusted [m]. At the peace of Cateau, concluded in 1559, Henry the Second, King of France, restored his Corsican conquests, not to the Republic, but to the society of St. George [n]. In like manner, when the insurrection began anew in that island, in 1563, the same company prosecuted the war to its conclusion: the oath of submission, taken by the rebel chiefs, when they laid down their arms, and returned to their allegiance in 1568, was tendered by, and received in the name of

Political power, enjoyed and exercised by the Bank.

[k] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 109, 110.
[l] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 445.
[m] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 88, 89. [n] Ibid. p. 210, 211.

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the Bank[o]. It continued long afterwards in the enjoyment and possession of all these sovereign powers.

Permanency of its administration.

As if to encrease the singularity of the institution, the administration of the Bank remained as permanent and unchangeable, as that of the Republic was agitated, mutable, and fluctuating. No alterations ever took place in its mode of internal regulation and government. Two sovereign and independant powers were beheld within the walls of the same city, without their producing any sort of discord, or political shock[p]. It has, however, formed matter of enquiry and discussion, whether, notwithstanding the ostensible advantages which Genoa derived from so vast a source of public credit, the establishment did not finally accelerate the decline of the State. This question is one, which, depending upon deep or doubtful principles of finance, it may be difficult to resolve: but, the facility which the Bank lent to many operations of commerce, and the security which it held out to those persons who had vested in it their property, unquestionably tended to give a consideration to the Republic, after the loss of her most valuable colonies, and the diminution of her trade. The present discussion will not, perhaps, appear long or uninteresting, when it is considered that almost all the nations of Europe, but in particular,

Considerations on the institution.

[o] Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 214, and p. 248.
[p] Folietta, Hist. Gen. liv. ix. Ann. 1407.

Great

Great Britain, have since imitated the model exhibited to them by the Genoese; and that the grandeur of those states is inseparably connected with the maintenance of an artificial circulation, and of the faith pledged to the public creditors.

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1574.

CHAP. XI.

FERRARA.

History of Ferrara during the sixteenth century. — State of the Duchy in 1574. — Protection accorded to letters. — State of Mantua in 1574. — Establishment of the Family of Farnese, in Parma and Placentia.

CHAP. XI.

History of Ferrara, in the sixteenth century.

AFTER Genoa, Ferrara might be accounted the most powerful among the minor states of Italy, at the period which we are reviewing. It then comprehended under the government of one Prince, the dependant duchies of Modena and of Reggio: but Ferrara was a papal fief, held of the Holy See; the two latter were Imperial fiefs, which the Emperor Frederic the Third, in 1452, raised to the rank of duchies[a]. Paul the Second, who occupied the chair of St. Peter in 1471, conferred the same title upon Ferrara[b]. During the fierce and obstinate wars which took place in the beginning of the sixteenth century, between France and Spain, relative to the possession of Milan, the Dukes of Ferrara became necessarily involved, and were compelled to take a decided part. Alfonso the First, who succeeded to the government about that time, a prince of valor and capacity, mani-

Alfonso the First. 1505.

[a] L'Art de Ver. vol. iii. p. 698. [b] Idem, ibid.

fested

fested in the course of a reign of considerable duration, under many reverses, an invincible constancy. His inveterate enemies, the popes, were constantly attentive to discover a favorable occasion of re-uniting Ferrara to the patrimony of the church; and it cannot be denied that in the prosecution of the attempt, they spared neither violence, perfidy, nor excommunications[c]. Francis the First, King of France, whose anxiety to retain, or to recover the Milanese, rendered him deeply sensible to every circumstance by which it might be facilitated, endeavoured to attach to his interests, by strong ties, the Dukes of Ferrara. He therefore conferred on Hercules, son to Alfonso, the Princess Renëe, second daughter of Louis the Twelfth, his own predecessor, in marriage. She was one of the most illustrious princesses of her time, endowed with extraordinary powers of mind and strength of understanding, which led her ultimately to embrace the doctrines of the Reformation. Her elder sister Claude was married to Francis the First: and as Renëe herself would have succeeded to the French throne, in preference to that prince, if her sex, in consequence of the Salic law, had not excluded her; Brantome says, that when she beheld her drawing room filled with the nobility of France who crouded to Ferrara, she was accustomed to remark, "Gentlemen, if nature had only conferred on me a beard, I should have been "your King." Her husband, who after his accession,

CHAP. XI. 1505.

1505—1534. Hercules the Second, and Renëe.

[c] L'Art. de Verif. vol. iii. p. 698, 699.

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cession, displayed an unshaken adherence to the French crown and nation throughout his whole life, was regarded as their chief support and ally beyond the Alps. It would be difficult to adduce a stronger proof of his devotion, than the fact of his acceding to the imprudent league formed by Henry the Second, and the Caraffas, for effecting the conquest of Naples. The entreaties of Henry, sustained by the menaces of Paul the Fourth, induced him reluctantly to embark in so unjust, ill-concerted, and unfortunate an enterprize. Philip the Second granted him nevertheless, honorable conditions of peace, thro' the mediation of Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany [d]. He was succeeded by his son, Alfonso the Second; whose near consanguinity with the kings of France, and the employments or honors which they conferred on him, retained him in the same political connections. Alfonso occupied the ducal throne in 1574.

1535—1558.

1559—1574.

1574. Territories of Ferrara.

The united territories of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, formed a considerable tract of Lombardy, extending from the shore of the Adriatic, and the mouths of the river Po, to the frontiers of the Milanese, of Tuscany, and the Republic of Lucca. The revenues, which were ample, received a great augmentation from the salt works of Comacchio, which supplied many parts of Italy with that important article of consumption. On several occasions, the

Forces.

[d] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 315—323. L'Art. de Verif. vol. iii. p. 699, 700.

Dukes

Dukes of Ferrara brought into the field, numerous bodies of troops; and their geographical situation, between hostile and contending powers, involved them in continual wars during the course of the sixteenth century. The court of Ferrara was one of the most polished and magnificent in Italy, under the princes of the house of Esté; who were peculiarly distinguished for their love of letters, and their protection of all the arts. Borzo d'Esté, before the year 1470, established in his capital the art of printing, then newly discovered, by inviting and retaining in his service, Andreas Gallus, who exercised that profession [c]. Ariosto, whose "Orlando Furioso" may rank among the finest productions of poetic genius, and is perhaps superior to the "Gierusalemme Liberata" of Tasso, considered as a work of imagination; resided and died at Ferrara, under the reign of Alfonso the First, by whom, and his brother the Cardinal Hippolito, he was beloved and cherished. Such was the versatility of his talents, that he was employed in various negotiations, and made by the Duke, his sovereign, Governor of Graffignana, a little province situate among the mountains of the Appenines. Not content with taking care of his private fortune, Alfonso gave him the most flattering testimonies of admiration. Such, indeed, was the enthusiasm which his writings excited, that the comedies of Ariosto were performed on a splendid thea-

CHAP. XI.

1574.

Arts.

Ariosto.

[c] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 698.

tre,

CHAP. XI. 1574.

tre, constructed for the purpose, in the hall of the ducal palace at Ferrara, where the respective parts or characters were filled by persons of the highest quality[f]. Renëe, Princess of France, wife to Hercules the Second, was the distinguished protectress of merit and learning. She possessed an elevated mind, cultivated by all the knowledge of the age in which she lived; and her liberality of disposition attracted to the court of her husband, strangers of eminence from all parts of Italy[g]. The same hereditary taste for science, equal munificence, and mental endowments of every kind, characterised her son Alfonso the Second, who in 1565 invited to his court, the celebrated Torquato Tasso. That poet, like Ariosto, enjoyed during many years the distinguished favor of the Duke, and of his brother, Louis, Cardinal of Esté; though reasons not clearly ascertained, which have given rise to long disquisition and discussion among the biographers of the poet, induced Alfonso afterwards to confine, and even to treat him with apparent rigor.[h]

Tasso.

Beauty of the city of Ferrara.

The city of Ferrara, under the reign of Alfonso, inferior in beauty and elegance only to the great capitals of Italy, was adorned with stately edifices, statues, and public fountains. Sculpture no less than painting, protected by the Duke, embellished his palaces, which afforded an asylum to the most eminent artists. The country

[f] Biograph. Diction. vol. i. p. 306, 307.
[g] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 699, 700.
[h] Biograph. Diction. Article Tasso, vol. xii.

was

was populous, industrious, and flourishing. But, all these advantages ceased with his life, before the close of the sixteenth century; when Ferrara being seized on by the Popes, as an ecclesiastical fief, was sunk and swallowed up in the patrimony of the Holy See.

1574.

MANTUA.

1500—1574. History of Mantua.

THE family of Gonzaga, which reigned at Mantua in the sixteenth century, had been in possession of that country, since the year 1328. Sigismond, Emperor of Germany, of the house of Luxembourg, conferred on them the title of Marquis, in 1433; and Charles the Fifth, in 1530, raised them to the Ducal dignity [i]. The state of Mantua was far inferior in extent, to the dominions of Ferrara; nor were its sovereigns ashamed to accept the command of the papal, or of the Venetian armies. Louis the Third, who flourished towards the middle of the fifteenth century, even derived a considerable part of his revenues, from the sale of his troops to the Italian powers, his neighbours [k]; as the Landgraves of Hesse Cassel, the Margraves of Anspach, and other German princes, have equally done in our own time. We find that Mantua in 1574, was a superb capital, containing near fifty thousand inhabitants,

Magnificence of the capital.

[i] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 664, and p. 665, and p. 668.

[k] Ibid. p. 666.

adorned

CHAP. XI. 1500—1574.

adorned with monasteries and religious edifices, of singular beauty. The palace of its Dukes is described by contemporary writers, as containing five hundred apartments, in the decoration of which, luxury and magnificence had exhausted their efforts[1]. None of the great cities beyond the Alps, could boast of similar edifices at that period; not even those of France, or of Spain. The palace of the Thuilleries at Paris, as well as the Escurial near Madrid, were not yet finished; and the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, were then only to be found in Italy, at their summit of perfection. The Dukes of Mantua, like those of Ferrara, extended protection to polite letters. Balthazar Castiglioné, a man of the finest genius whom Italy has produced, flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was employed by Frederic the Second, Duke of Mantua, in the most difficult affairs of state. He afterwards passed into the service of the Duke of Urbino, as he did at a later period of his life, into that of Pope Clement the Seventh. By the Emperor Charles the Fifth he was covered with honors and preferments. To us, after the lapse of three hundred years, he is chiefly known by his work of "Il Corteggiano," or "the Courtier," published in 1516 at Rome. This production, in which Castiglioné has endeavored to depicture a perfect model of elegant accomplishment, abounds with such a

Fine Arts.

Castiglioné.

[1] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvii. p. 463, 464. Etat. de Mantoue, p. 273, 274.

variety

variety of learning, displays so much information, and conveys so many admirable precepts or rules of moral action, couched in the purest Italian, as to be still read and admired in the present age. Castiglioné, from the acknowledged refinement of his taste in compositions of art or imagination, was regarded as the standard to whose judgment were then submitted all such claims. We find Raphael and Michael Angelo Buonaroti, under Leo the Tenth, addressing him precisely in the same language, and with the same flattering encomiums, as Dryden and Prior lavish in their dedications to Charles, Earl of Dorset, under Charles the Second, or Queen Anne. Castiglioné died in 1529, at Toledo, where Charles the Fifth then held his court. We may judge of the enthusiastic veneration, in which the Roman poets were then held, by the construction of a palace called "Virgiliana," in order to commemorate the spot, which is supposed to have given birth to the author of the "Eneid," in the vicinity of Mantua[m]. William the Third occupied the Ducal dignity in 1574. The Marquisate of Montferrat, which has since composed a part of the dominions of Savoy, was then subject to the Dukes of Mantua; and gave them no inconsiderable influence in Lombardy, at a period when that country was almost perpetually the scene of hostilities between France and Spain.[n]

CHAP. XI. 1500—1574.

Admiration paid to him.

[m] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvii. p. 464. Etat de Mantoue, p. 276.

[n] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 640.

PARMA and PLACENTIA.

CHAP. XI.

1521—1544. History of Parma.

THE two duchies of Parma and Placentia, after having undergone many revolutions under the family of Sforza, were conquered by Leo the Tenth, from Francis the First, King of France, and incorporated by that pontiff into the patrimony of the church [o]. The ambition of one of his successors in the papal see, Paul the Third, soon however dismembered them again, in order to confer them on his son, Peter Louis Farnese. That prince, who is justly said to have displayed all the vices of Cæsar Borgia, without possessing his courage or talents, abandoned himself in his new sovereignty, to every excess of unbridled licentiousness, and to all the crimes which rapacity could perpetrate, supported by power. His short reign was terminated by a conspiracy, which his enormities had occasioned and provoked. Several noblemen, secretly supported by Ferdinand Gonzaga, Governor of the Milanese, assassinated him in his own palace at Placentia; and every indignity which an enraged populace could inflict, was exercised on his dead body [p]. The Imperial troops immediately took possession of the city and citadel of Placentia, in the name of Charles

Elevation of the family of Farnese to the Duchy.

1545.

1547.

1548

[o] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 48.

[p] Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 164, 165. Etat de Parme. p. 391—398.

the

the Fifth; who refused to release them to Octavio, son of the late Duke, though that young prince had married his natural daughter, Margaret, widow of Alexander de Medicis. Paul the Third, his grandfather, at the same time deprived Octavio of Parma, which he re-united to the ecclesiastical dominions: but at his death soon afterwards, Julius the Third, his successor, restored the place and its territory to Octavio. By the assistance of Henry the Second, King of France, whose protection he sought and obtained, Parma was preserved from suffering the fate of Placentia: but Octavio, sensible that he could neither maintain himself in the former possession, nor regain the latter city, without the friendship of the house of Austria, threw himself on the generosity of Philip the Second, who, by the abdication of his father, Charles the Fifth, had lately become master of Placentia. That monarch, who loved and esteemed the Duchess of Parma, his natural sister, granted Octavio's request, by reinstating him in the city of Placentia; but, he withheld the citadel, and garrisoned it with Spanish troops, which he even compelled the Duke to maintain [q]. Such was the political situation of these duchies in 1574, which might be considered as totally dependant on Spain. Alexander, hereditary prince of Parma, so renowned in history for his military capacity and virtues, was educated under the immediate eye of

CHAP. XI. 1549—1574.

Wars, and revolutions.

State of Parma in 1574.

[q] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 657, 658.

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Philip, with his own son, the unfortunate Don Carlos. Alexander had been sent to the court of Madrid, there to remain as a pledge and a hostage for his father Octavio's fidelity; and the important services which he rendered to the Spanish crown, during the wars in the low countries, ultimately procured his complete emancipation, and that of his posterity, from the ignominious servitude in which they were held by the troops and ministers of Philip the Second[r]. Notwithstanding the crimes of Peter Louis Farnese, Duke of Parma, he, as well as the princes of his family, were munificent patrons of genius. The Cardinal Alexander Farnese employed or remunerated the most eminent artists, in every branch of elegant taste or refinement. Vignola, one of the greatest architects that Italy has produced, the rival of Palladio and of Scamozzi, constructed for that prelate, the splendid palace of Caprarola near Rome. Annibal Caro, who translated the "Eneid" of Virgil into Italian verse, received from him and from Octavio, Duke of Parma, every species of recompense. Both Vignola and Caro died, as they had lived, under the protection of the family of Farnese.

Protection extended to the arts.

Relative to the duchy of Milan, which, since the extinction of the family of Sforza in 1536, had become a province of the Spanish monarchy, it is unnecessary to say any thing, as its history is lost in that of Spain. The Mi-

Milan.

[r] Leti. Hist. de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 267.

lanese was administered by governors, sent from Madrid. Sicily and Sardinia were in the same situation, during the sixteenth century. Still less can it be an object of importance to enumerate, or to enter into any detail, respecting the minor principalities and republics of Italy. They neither influenced the fate of Europe, nor merit historical attention.

General picture of Italy.

On a comprehensive review of the situation of this beautiful country in 1574, we shall perceive that the predominant power was that of Spain; which by the absolute possession of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Milanese, and the Tuscan garrisons, when added to its ascendancy in Genoa and Parma, reduced the remainder of Italy to a species of servitude. We shall observe, that Venice and the papal see were on the decline; the former state having lost her commerce, and the latter her religious influence: that Savoy and Tuscany, well administered, retained their independance in a certain degree, though they looked to Philip the Second, as their ally and protector against France; while the other Italian states were of no consideration in the great scale of European politics.

CHAP. XII.

SWITZERLAND.

Review of the Swiss history, from the æra of their revolt, under Albert the First.—Ineffectual efforts of the Austrian princes to subject Switzerland.—Defeat of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.—Participation of the Switzers in the wars of France and Italy.—Battle of Marignan.—Stipendary treaties made with the crown of France.—State of the Helvetic confederacy in 1574. *—Introduction of letters.—Simplicity of manners.—Tolerance.—Police.—Manners.—Military force, skill, and discipline.—Weapons, offensive and defensive.*

CHAP. XII.

1300. Origin of the Swiss Republic.

THE history of that revolution which produced the independance of the thirteen Cantons, forms one of the most memorable and important lessons, ever given by mankind to tyrants. The freedom enjoyed during several centuries by the Helvetic confederacy, which rendered that body so respectable, originated among the poorest inhabitants of the desolate tracts of the Alps, in the midst of snows and precipices. That the Italian cities, rich, flourishing, and commercial, should either purchase an exemption from the indefinite supremacy of the German Emperors, their feudal sovereigns; or should expel their own domestic oppressors, excites little surprize. But,

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But, the peasants of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, destitute of allies, and incapable from their poverty, of buying protection, opposed and vanquished their sovereigns, although supported by numerous forces, and frequently armed with the terrors of the Imperial power. The Emperor, Albert the First, son to Rodolphus of Hapsbourg, who founded the greatness of the house of Austria; a prince of a cruel, rapacious, and unjust disposition; by his repeated and wanton acts of violence, alienated the affections of a people, slow to resent; who in defiance of insults and injuries, long abstained from any attempts at resistance. Even though we should suppose, with some modern historians, that the infancy of the Swiss liberty, has, like that of Greece, been disfigured, or embellished, by a mixture of fable; yet proofs innumerable and incontestable will still remain, of the insolent abuse of authority on the part of the Austrian governors. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, these outrages became so insupportable, as to excite universal indignation; and after patiently enduring, or humbly remonstrating during several years, the inhabitants of three mountainous Cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, took up arms. Their enterprize was crowned with complete success. The Austrians were every where expelled; and the Emperor Albert, who, incensed at their revolt, prepared to inflict on them an exemplary punishment, having been assassinated in the following year, by his own nephew, at the passage

1300. Revolt of the three Cantons from Albert the First.

1307. Assassination of Albert.

CHAP. XII.

sage of the river Russ, not far from Zurich, the insurgents derived from this event, a short and precarious respite.[a]

1307.

Attempt of Leopold.

Leopold, Duke of Austria, who succeeded to his father's claims, prepared to assert them, at the head of a great military force; and rejecting the entreaties of the three Cantons, who offered to refer the dispute to arbitration, he determined to reduce them to implicit obedience. In this desperate condition, thirteen hundred men, to which number their united strength amounted, having assembled, embraced the generous resolution of perishing, or of securing their freedom. It is a fact, transmitted to us by history, and too memorable to be passed over in silence, that this little troop refused to admit into their body, about fifty exiles of the Canton of Schwitz; who having fled to the most inaccessible fastnesses, implored permission of their countrymen, to be allowed to die in defence of their common liberty. Nor ought it to be omitted, that these exiles, thus denied the honourable privilege of mixing with their virtuous fellow-citizens, and driven out by them, were yet incapable of betraying the cause of freedom. They even contributed in an eminent degree, to the victory obtained at Morgarten, by seizing on an eminence, overhanging the valley through which the Austrians passed; from whence they rolled down stones,

Battle of Morgarten.

[a] Simler. Hist. de la Repub. des Suisses, a Paris, en 1578, p. 8—41. Abregé de l'Hist. de Suisse, par Plantin, a Geneve, 1666, p. 133—136.

threw

threw the army into confusion, and facilitated the defeat that followed. Leopold himself fled: above fifteen hundred cavalry, besides a greater number of foot, perished in the action; and the three Cantons, who had hitherto only associated together for the term of ten years, immediately changed their temporary league, into a perpetual alliance [b]. Supported by their courage, and destitute of every external aid, they continued to oppose an invincible barrier to the numerous attempts of the house of Austria; and their infant confederacy was soon afterwards strengthened and augmented by the accession of Lucern. CHAP. XII. 1315. 1332.

Union of the eight antient Cantons.

To this city, after an interval of near twenty years, succeeded Zurich, one of the most opulent and commercial places in Switzerland. Zug, together with Glaris, conquered by their joint forces, were next received into the union; which was rendered more formidable from the junction of Bern. These eight, distinguished by the title of "the antient Cantons," remained during near one hundred and twenty-five years, before they admitted any new associates; during which period of time, they sustained and repelled the rudest assaults [c]. Every weapon, which resentment and disappointed ambition could arm against them, was put into action by the descendants of Albert and Leopold. It will not be regarded as among the least injurious,

Efforts of the Austrian princes, to subject the Switzers.

[b] Simler. p. 47—51, and p. 53—57. Plantin. p. 139—144.
[c] Ibid. p. 61—158. passim. Plantin. p. 161—167.

CHAP. XII. 1350.

rious, that they were repeatedly excommunicated by popes and by bishops of Constance, the allies of their enemies. To weak and superstitious minds, in a dark and bigotted age, such Anathemas became matter of pious terror and consternation, in an extreme degree. The Cantons addressed the most urgent supplications to the Emperor Louis the Fifth, beseeching his interposition with the sovereign pontiffs, to obtain their release from a state of reprobation. Nor can their anxiety appear either ridiculous or extraordinary, when we reflect, that during its continuance, all the ceremonies and exercises of religion were completely suspended. The priests, together with the monastic orders, quitted the city and territory on which the papal interdict fell, as if driven from thence by a pestilential malady; and they even refused to administer to the dying, any of the sacraments of the Romish church. We can scarcely induce ourselves to believe, that Zurich remained near eighteen years in this deserted state, from 1332, to 1350; and that, of all the regular, or secular clergy, only the Cordeliers, of the order of St. Francis, continued to reside within the limits of the city. [d]

Excommunications.

Conspiracies. 1351—1385.

Conspiracies, and even attempts to compel submission, by prohibiting the supplies of provisions, of which their sterile and contracted territory rendered them in perpetual want, having proved ineffectual; Leopold the Second,

[d] Simler. p. 84, 85.

Duke

Duke of Austria, uninstructed by the fate of his ancestors, renewed his attack upon the Cantons. At the memorable action of Sempach, he perished, together with more than six hundred gentlemen, and almost half his army, consisting of four thousand men. The victory was obtained with the loss of scarcely more than two hundred [e]. The battle of Naefels, situate in the Canton of Glaris, fought two years afterwards, is less celebrated; though the disparity of forces was far greater, and the event proved equally glorious to the Switzers [f]. Such repeated proofs of intrepidity and constancy, at length secured their repose. A truce of fifty years was made between them and the Austrian princes, who did not venture to repeat their attacks before the fifteenth century. During that interval, the Cantons, far from relaxing in vigilance, were attentive to carry their military discipline to the highest point of excellence; and they succeeded in the endeavour, beyond any European nation of the age.

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1386. Battle of Sempach.

1388.

Truce.

Louis the Eleventh, before his accession to the throne of France, while Dauphin, when commanding the troops of Charles the Seventh his father, witnessed the most incontestable proof of their military virtue and contempt of death. A detachment of only sixteen hundred Switzers marched to meet, and to engage his army near Basil, which was thirty thousand strong.

1444. War with France.

[e] Simler. p. 135, 136. L'Art. de Verif. vol. iii. p. 591. Plantin. p. 176—181.

[f] Ibid. p. 137, 138. Plantin. p. 182—184.

They

CHAP. XII. 1444.

They perished in the attempt, which it must be owned, partook of temerity; but, they left five times their number of the enemy's troops, dead on the field of battle. Penetrated with equal respect and admiration for such a people, Louis not only desisted from the further prosecution of hostilities, and led back his forces; but he determined to conciliate their affection, as one of the best supports of his own power. Twelve Switzers who are said to have survived the slaughter of their fellow-soldiers before Basil, were noted with infamy, by their countrymen. There is nothing more sublime than these facts, to be found among the Greeks or the Romans. In the perusal of their early history, we are perpetually reminded of the Spartans; and we trace the same heroic sacrifice of their lives for the safety of their country, which has immortalized Leonidas, and his three hundred followers. [5]

Heroism of the Swiss.

1474—1476. War with Charles the Bold.

The reputation and renown, acquired by so many acts of prowess, were still heightened during the war which Charles the Bold, last Duke of Burgundy, imprudently undertook against the allied Cantons. Deprecating his resentment, they endeavoured by expostulation, as well as by entreaty, to induce him to desist from his unjust enterprize. But, that prince, intoxicated with the idea of his own greatness, persisted in the attempt, even after his first defeat at Granson. A second, and

[5] Simler. p. 140, 141. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 594, 595. Plantin. p. 203—208. Hondorf. Theatrum Historia, p. 453.

more

more signal victory, gained by the Swiss at Morat, near Bern, in which, it is asserted that near eighteen thousand Burgundians perished, broke the power of their invader, and prepared the final ruin of his house, which shortly followed. The bones of the slaughtered soldiers, collected together, and preserved by the conquerors, long presented the most eloquent lesson to unjust ambition, and the rage of conquest. [h]

CHAP. XII. 1474—1476.

Some dissensions which arose among the Cantons, at this period, relative to the distribution of the spoil taken from Charles the Bold, had nearly proved fatal to their political union, and involved them in a civil war: but, by the intervention of a patriot hermit, named Nicholas d'Underwald, who quitted his retreat, in order to appease the disputes of his countrymen, they were amicably terminated. Here again we seem to be transported to the simplicity which characterizes the early ages of the earth. Friburg and Soleure, two cities which had long been partially united by treaty with some of the members of the Helvetic confederacy, were incorporated into the general league, which encreased to ten, the number of allied Cantons[i]. Powerful as they were now become, and justly dreaded by every surrounding power, yet the house of Austria, unwilling to relinquish their antient claims of su-

1577—1481. Internal dissensions.

1482—1498. War renewed with the house of Austria.

[h] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 523. Simler. p. 143—147. Plantin. p. 224—228. Memoires de Comines, liv. vii.

[i] Simler. p. 149, 150, and p. 163—170. Plantin. p. 254.

premacy,

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premacy, did not totally desist from endeavours to subject Switzerland, before the conclusion of the fifteenth century. The Emperor Frederic the Third, heir to the possessions and pretensions of his ancestors, during a long reign of more than fifty years, never lost sight of the object. Unable, from his poverty and weakness, to attack them in person, his secret intrigues had produced, or had fomented the invasions, undertaken by France and Burgundy. Maximilian the First, his son, commenced that rupture, denominated the Swabian war, which only confirmed the independance, that it was intended to subvert. Being repeatedly defeated, he was at length compelled formally to renounce his title to the territories originally conquered from his family. [k]

1482—1498.

1499.

1500. The Switzers become stipendiaries.

This unsuccessful attempt of Maximilian, may be esteemed the last effort made to shake the liberties of the Switzers; who, after near two centuries of avowed, or of concealed hostility, on the part of their antient masters, remained in the undisturbed enjoyment of their well-earned freedom. We are, from this period, to view them in another, and in some respects, a less pleasing, as well as less elevated point of view; as stipendiaries, entering into the service of foreign princes or powers, and occasionally sustaining or attacking the French, the Papal, and the Venetian interests. Even the Austrian

[k] Annales de l'Empire, par Voltaire, p. 373. Simler. p. 172—174. Plantin. p. 268—274.

princes,

princes, and Maximilian himself, so lately their enemy, did not disdain to avail himself of their assistance. The same intrepidity and martial spirit accompanied them beyond the Alps, which they had displayed at home in the defence of their own invaded rights. So high was the esteem entertained for their valor and discipline, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that every sovereign manifested an anxiety to secure their friendship. Basil, and Schaff housen, which were admitted soon afterwards into the union; and Appenzel, which obtained the same privilege twelve years later, completed the number of thirteen Cantons; beyond which the confederacy never extended previous to the period of the French Revolution [1]. The Grisons, a race of mountaineers who inhabited the Rhætian Alps, and whose character for patriotism had been established by the same severe trials to which the Switzers were subjected, connected themselves likewise with the Helvetic body in 1498, by the closest ties of alliance; though they still continued to remain a distinct political state, and were never entirely incorporated into the Swiss Republic. [m]

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1500. The Helvetic confederacy is augmented.

1501.

1513.

Previous to this æra, and almost immediately after the close of the Burgundian war in 1479, and the following year, the Switzers already assumed an active part in the concerns of France and Italy. Louis the Eleventh, who, by artfully

[1] Simler. p. 177—188, and p. 195—199. Plantin. p. 278, and p. 294.

[m] Simler. p. 218—224. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 596, 597. Plantin. p. 267, 268.

inflaming

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1513. Treaties between France and the Cantons.

inflaming the quarrel between the Cantons and Charles the Bold, had rendered them subservient to his crooked and vindictive policy, omitted no means to attach them closely to his interests. He found that money constituted one of the most effectual agents for this purpose. Repeated treaties, in which reciprocal immunities and exemptions were formally stipulated, but which were in fact cemented by gold, connected the two countries. The Cantons, in 1480, sent him a military aid; and under his son, Charles the Eighth, their soldiers fought as auxiliaries, in the battle of St. Aubin, which determined the fate of the Duchy of Bretagne. They took a similar part in that of Fornoua, fought in 1495, which secured the safe retreat of Charles from Italy, after his memorable Neapolitan expedition. The survivors of the latter of those enterprizes, on their return home, first introduced among their countrymen, the fatal distemper, said to have been brought by Columbus from the New World, and which they contracted during their stay at Naples.[n]

Surrender of Louis Sforza.

One of the most disgraceful circumstances which occurs in the annals of Switzerland, we must reluctantly admit, is the surrender of Louis Sforza, Duke of Milan. That unfortunate prince, besieged in the city of Novarra, by the forces of France, while reposing on the valor and adherence of five thousand Switzers, whom he re-

[n] Simler. p. 147, 148, and p. 170, 171, and p. 188, 189. Hottinger. p. 416. Plantin. p. 265.

tained

tained in his pay, experienced from them a treatment unworthy their national character. He was not only abandoned, but betrayed into the hands of his enemies. Having, in order to effect his escape, assumed a military disguise, and mixed in the ranks of his auxiliary friends, a private soldier discovered, and delivered him up to Louis the Twelfth. A captivity, which only terminated with his life, became the consequence: but an indelible stain attached to the act; and so sensible were the Cantons to the infamy incurred by it, that they endeavoured to expiate the guilt, by inflicting on the individual who had thus dishonored them, a public and ignominious death[o]. They gloriously repaired their crime, some years afterwards, nearly on the same spot; as if determined to efface its remembrance, by rendering to Maximilian, son and successor of Louis Sforza, the most important services. It is rarely, that in the history of nations, we find the fault and the atonement so closely united.

1513.

Louis the Twelfth, during the course of his reign, had derived from the Switzers, on more than one occasion, the same assistance as his predecessors: but an injudicious parsimony, joined to some mortifying insults offered them on the part of the King of France, converted their attachment into an inveterate enmity. Determined on revenge, and animated by national antipathy, they flocked to their standards with such eagerness, that they solely demanded,

1513, 1514. Battle of Novarra.

[o] Simler. p. 174, 175.

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without receiving any pay, to be led against the French, who were then occupied in prosecuting the siege of Novarra. Maximilian Sforza, with four thousand Switzers, had retreated to that city, where he could not however long maintain himself against the assailants. Only eight thousand men, destitute of cavalry, magazines, or artillery, and unsupported by any aid except their own enthusiasm, having formed a junction with their countrymen, ventured to attack the Mareschal Trivulsio in an entrenched camp, fortified with twenty-two pieces of cannon. Their battalions, though repeatedly swept away by the discharge of the French artillery, advanced in regular order, leapt the trenches, and fell upon the enemy with an impetuosity, that rendered all resistance ineffectual. This signal victory was followed by the restitution of the Milanese to Maximilian, of which duchy their defection had deprived his father. Even the Italian writers of the sixteenth century, though little disposed to magnify, or to exaggerate the Swiss exploits, have ventured to compare the battle of Novarra, with the most sublime actions of antiquity. Not content with having inflicted on Louis the Twelfth this exemplary chastisement, they entered the province of Burgundy, laid siege to Dijon, the capital, and could scarcely be induced, by the promise of an ample indemnification, to withdraw from before the city, and to evacuate the kingdom. [p]

Victory of the Switzers.

[p] Simler. p. 191—193. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 595. Machiavel, liv. ii. chap. xvii. Guicciardini, liv. xi. Plantin. p. 290—293.

At

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At the accession of Francis the First, to the crown of France, that prince, instructed by the errors or misfortunes of Louis, exerted every endeavour to mollify their resentment; and to obtain, if not their assistance, at least their neutrality, during his invasion of the Milanese. But, the Cantons, irritated at the infraction of the articles which had been agreed on with his predecessor, when they were encamped before Dijon; and stimulated by the suggestions of the celebrated Schiener, Bishop of Sion, the principal town in the province of the Valais; rejected the offers of the King, at the moment when the conditions seemed to be on the point of adjustment. The memorable battle of Marignano ensued; one of the most fiercely contested actions fought in modern ages. After near two days of obstinate conflict, the Switzers, rather worsted than vanquished, sullenly and slowly retreated from the field. But, their retreat bore no resemblance to flight: having placed their wounded in the center of the army, they marched in compact order, back to Milan; impressing even in this situation, with so much respect, the French forces, though victorious, that not the slightest attempt was made to impede or to pursue them[q]. Francis, charmed with their valor, and penetrated with a sense of their political importance, judged it expedient to secure their future friendship, at almost any price. He succeeded in his object,

1515.

Battle of Marignano.

[q] Simler. p. 202—206. Guicciardini. liv. xii. Paul Jovius. liv. xv. Plantin. p. 295—300.

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1521.

and concluded with the Republic two successive treaties, by which he rendered their troops subservient to all his projects of ambition. It ought not however to be omitted, that only twelve of the thirteen Cantons could ever be induced to sign a compact of so binding a nature; which, in some measure compelled them to enter into every war, however unjust, in which the French monarchy might be eventually involved. Zurich, alienated by the harangues of the Cardinal Bishop of Sion; and still more sensible to the exhortations of the famous Zuinglius, who having introduced the tenets of the Reformation into his native country, forcibly depictured the immorality of adopting all the political resentments of a foreign power; — Zurich pertinaciously refused to be included in the alliance, or to partake of the French subsidies.[r]

Treaty with the French crown.

Great and decisive privileges were accorded to Francis, by the terms of the second treaty. He was authorized, at his pleasure, to levy in Switzerland, from six thousand, to sixteen thousand men, and even to name all the superior officers. This body of troops, which was entirely placed at his devotion, he might lead against any state or power indifferently, on the shortest notice. In return for such concessions, which secured him a military force ever ready to march, he manifested his liberality to the Helvetic union; and besides the immediate

Privileges, accorded to Francis the First.

[r] Simler. p. 206—212. Plantin. p. 302.

payment

payment of a large sum to "the League" collectively, he stipulated to make an annual donation in future to each separate Canton[s]. All our admiration of the Swiss valor, cannot however reconcile us to the relaxation of their morals, in concluding these stipendiary treaties, which degraded the national character by sordidly selling its blood to a foreign sovereign. No precedent for such venal alliances, can be found in the bright periods of Athens, or of Sparta. Those Republics, animated by higher feelings of self-esteem, were more sensible to the charms of glory, than to the seductions of gold. They took, indeed, frequently, part in the intestine wars or commotions of Persia; and their troops occasionally served as auxiliaries or as stipendiaries, in the armies of the successors of Darius Hystaspes: but, as independent states, they never rendered themselves the passive instruments of the vengeance or the policy of the *great King*, as the Swiss Cantons have uniformly done by the French monarchs. CHAP. XII. 1521.

On the decease of Francis the First, his son Henry the Second renewed, and even more closely cemented the alliance: but Bern, as well as Zurich, declined to be comprehended in the treaty, esteeming the principle upon which it was founded, contrary to the immutable rules of morality and justice. The eleven remaining Cantons did not, however, the less ratify the compact, which became permanent and here- 1549. New treaties with the French kings.

[s] Simler. p. 275—283. Plantin. p. 302.

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ditary [t]. Charles the Ninth confirmed his father's engagements; and that prince, during the civil wars which he carried on against his protestant subjects, repeatedly derived from the fidelity and valor of their troops, the most important services. In the battle of Dreux, they extorted involuntary applauses from their enemies. Four years afterwards, at the memorable retreat of Meaux, Fifer, with six thousand Switzers whom he commanded, received the young king, his mother Catherine of Medicis, and the whole royal family, into the center of their battalions: then opposing their pikes to the fiercest attacks of the Hugonot cavalry, they conducted Charles in safety to Paris. [u]

1549.

1567.

1574. State of Switzerland, at this period.

After this short review of the outlines of the history of Switzerland, it becomes requisite to survey their situation in 1574; and it may not be unpleasing to compare it with the earlier periods of their political existence. They were in many respects essentially altered from the rude and uncultivated people, whom the Austrian oppression had driven to resistance, and who were unacquainted with every science, except that of war. In the course of near three centuries, a degree of refinement, which had gradually been introduced among the more opulent Cantons, had softened the manners of their inhabitants. As early as the year 1459, Pius the Second, Eneas Piccolomini, who, previous to his elevation to the papal throne, had acted as secre-

Letters.

[t] Plantin. p. 335. Simler. p. 283—285. [u] Plantin. p. 346.

tary

tary to the general council convoked at Basil; founded in that city, a university [x]. Seminaries for the instruction of youth, were successively established at Bern, Zurich, and Lausanne. The introduction and study of letters were facilitated, by the printing houses opened in the two former of those places, as well as at Geneva; which last city, from its vicinity, and its close alliance with the Cantons, might be regarded as constituting almost an integral part of the Helvetic confederacy [y]. A very considerable, and lucrative commerce was carried on in the article of books, with which Switzerland furnished France and Italy [z]. Their intimate connexions with the French crown, cemented by gold, introduced a circulation of money; and the troops which were constantly retained in its service, at their return home, together with the vices, brought back the improvements of a more polished nation.

1574. Seminaries of learning.

These remarks must however be considered as principally applicable to the Cantons bordering on the Rhine, or on the lake of Geneva. Among the mountainous States, where the primitive simplicity of earlier times still subsisted, civilization had faintly penetrated. Their ceremonies, laws, and usages, had suffered little alteration during successive ages. The Catholic religion, which had been expelled from Bern, Zurich, and several others of the more fertile Cantons, maintained itself among the

Condition of the mountainous Cantons.

[x] Plantin. p. 216. Simler. p. 302.
[y] Ibid. p. 302.
[z] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 356.

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precipices of the Alps, in all its purity and bigotry. The doctrines of Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, which had spread over so large a portion of Europe, were eagerly imbibed by the Switzers. But, the same religious difference of opinion, which had rudely agitated the German empire, and had desolated or subverted France; caused little effervescence, and produced no animosity, among a people whose organs and passions were less delicate and susceptible. Retaining the same mutual affection for their common country, they manifested the same ardor to unite for its defence. Thro'out the two Cantons of Glaris and of Appenzel, there did not exist any predominant religion. In the first of those Cantons, on the anniversary of the victory of Naefels, which was gained over the Austrians in 1387, when three hundred and eighty Switzers defeated nine thousand of their enemies; the sermon, preached to the people, was delivered alternately by the Catholic priest, and by the Calvinist minister. [a]

Moderation in religious concerns.

Internal mode of government.

As their tenets of faith were different, so were their forms of government dissimilar. The three earliest allied Cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, small, as well as destitute of cities, formed pure Democracies: they were imitated in this mode of constitution, by Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel [b]. But, the larger, and more wealthy members of the union, embraced an aristocratic government; or at least, one in

[a] Simler. p 390—395.

[b] Ibid. p. 287, 288.

which

which that principle strongly predominated[c]. Thro'out every part of Switzerland, the laws were implicitly obeyed, and rigidly enforced. Property enjoyed more security than in any European state; and while Italy, through all its various sovereignties, was infested with robbers, who rendered the public roads unsafe; the meanest and most unprotected individual travelled thro' the Cantons, without alarm or molestation[d]. This superiority, which formed one of the most enviable circumstances attached to their freedom, resulted in a great degree, from the extermination of the numerous feudal tyrants, who thro'out Europe had long committed depredations with impunity, on the inferior orders of the people. Their hospitality was a characteristic national virtue; but intoxication, riot, and intemperance, too frequently accompanied, as well as disgraced, their public festivals. Songs, commemorative of the victories obtained by the first Switzers, over their oppressors, usually exhilarated these banquets, thus keeping alive the spirit of freedom which had given birth to the Republic[e]. Their jurisprudence was, like every other institution, simple and concise. If the interference of friends proved ineffectual to produce a reconciliation between two parties engaged in litigation, the council, which was usually assembled at the town of Baden, proceeded to try and to deter-

Security.

Hospitality.

Jurisprudence.

[c] Simler. p. 288. [d] Ibid. p. 306, 307.
[e] Ibid. p. 301, and p. 307—311.

mine

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mine the cause, not by the principles or ordinances of the Roman or the civil law; not by the Pandects of Justinian, or the Capitularies of Charlemagne; but, by the dictates of equity, and the usages immemorially received among the people. The necessary consequence of so succinct a form of trial, was to extinguish in a great measure, the delays and chicane, that too frequently accompany, while they disgrace the distribution of justice, in countries which boast of higher civilization.[f]

Military skill and discipline.

But, the political feature which distinguished the Switzers from every European nation, and which gave them a manifest superiority over all other states, was their military skill and discipline. Unlike to the inhabitants of France, or of Germany, where the profession of arms was confined to a few, whose choice and genius determined them to embrace it; thro'out all the Cantons, the meanest peasant was born a soldier. He was, from his cradle, accustomed to the use of those weapons used in war; inured alike to the vicissitudes of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Nature, independant of practice, had peculiarly qualified them for the field, by the characteristic virtues of patience, submission, and the endurance of hardships, without murmur or revolt[g]. Their affection towards each other, which seemed almost fraternal, and their disposition to extend mutual kindness, discriminated them in an eminent manner, from the German mercenaries of that age, denominated

[f] Simler. p. 302—304, and p. 327—329. [g] Ibid. p. 291, 292.

Landsquenets, who served in the armies of France and Spain. The Switzers, rarely engaged in private quarrels, were expressly enjoined by the magistrates to forget every personal injury, and to dismiss all individual resentment, while acting together in the camp, against an enemy[h]. The Roman discipline of the Consular ages was not more severe: they were forbidden, under pain of death, to quit their ranks, or to plunder, before the victory was completely gained: while the most sacred regard to every edifice appropriated to religious uses, as well as to the honor and safety of women, was strenuously inculcated and enforced.[i] 1574.

Infantry.

The Swiss infantry of that century, was regarded as the finest in Europe, being able to stand the shock of cavalry, without breaking or disordering their ranks. At the battle of Dreux, fought in 1562, between the Hugonots and the forces of Charles the Ninth, the French and German horse, in the service of Louis, Prince of Condé, repeatedly charged the Swiss battalions: almost all the officers of that nation were put to the sword; but, the troops rallied three times, preserved their order, and finally repulsed the assailants. In 1574, their offensive weapons consisted of the Harquebuss, halberd, and two-edged sword: but, their principal and distinguishing strength lay in their pikes, which were eighteen feet in length; and

Armor, and weapons.

[h] Simler. p. 296—298. [i] Ibid. p. 299, 300.

when

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when crossed, presented, like the Phalanx of the Macedonians, so celebrated in antiquity, an impenetrable forest of spears[k]. The defensive armor worn by the private soldiers, varied according to their ability and choice. Some were covered with a shirt of mail, a corslet, or a cuirass: but, the meaner sort contented themselves with a helmet; substituting the hides of oxen or of bears, in the place of iron armor. Every Switzer wore on his head, a plume, partly white, and partly of the colour of the ensign of his peculiar Canton; besides which badge, they carried on their breasts, a white cross. It is not undeserving of remark, that the military music then in use, was precisely the same which is still common in modern armies; namely, the drum, fife, and trumpet[l]. When their fidelity, intrepidity, and skill, are considered, it cannot form matter of surprize, that every prince was desirous to secure their friendship; and that they frequently, during the sixteenth century, compelled victory to incline towards that side, whose interests they espoused.

[k] Simler. p. 300, and p. 294.

[l] Ibid. p. 295, 296.

CHAP. XIII.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

Rise, and elevation of the house of Hapsburg. — Election of Frederic the Third, to the Imperial dignity. — Character, and reign of Maximilian the First. — Review of the great features of the administration and policy of Charles the Fifth. — His abdication. — Accession of Ferdinand the First. — Condition of Hungary and Bohemia, at that period. — Reign of Ferdinand. — Character of that monarch, and of Maximilian the Second, his successor. — Toleration of Maximilian. — State and limits of the Imperial power in 1574. — Deficiency of revenues, or pecuniary supplies. — Prerogatives exercised by the German emperors. — Ceremonial. — Condition of Hungary. — Contracted authority of Maximilian in Austria. — Revenues. — State of the clergy. — General Reflexions.

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1273. Origin, and elevation of the house of Austria.

THE power of the house of Austria, which, from the time of Charles the Fifth, down to the period of the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, impressed Europe with so much apprehension, was originally due to the vigor and ability of Rodolph of Hapsburg. That prince was unanimously chosen to fill the Imperial throne of Germany, after the long state of Interregnum and anarchy, which followed the death

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death of the Emperor Frederic the Second, about the middle of the thirteenth century.

1273. Having vanquished Ottocar, King of Bohemia, and dismembered from his dominions, the extensive duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; Rodolph, with the consent of the Diet, assembled at Augsburg, conferred those fiefs, extending from the banks of the Danube, to the shores of the Adriatic, on his eldest son, Albert. [a]

Rodolph the First.

1282—1291. His successors.

Notwithstanding the facility with which the Emperor procured from the Diet so important an investiture, he was unable to secure to Albert the succession to the Imperial crown; which the latter did not obtain till after the battle of Gelheim, when he dethroned his antagonist, Adolphus of Nassau. On the death of Albert, ten years afterwards, his son Frederic, who aspired to the same dignity, was taken prisoner by his competitor, Louis of Bavaria; and the house of Austria, by a singular vicissitude, for the space of more than a century sunk almost into its original obscurity, while the family of Luxembourg rose into eminence. By the marriage of Albert, Duke of Austria, with the daughter of Sigismund, last Emperor of the Dynasty of Luxembourg, he inherited on

1298.

1437. that monarch's decease, the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; to which was added in the following year, the Imperial dignity. But, Albert, who might have founded a powerful race

[a] Annales de l'Empire, p. 248. L'Art de Ver. vol. ii. p. 31.

of

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of princes, and who possessed talents, civil as well as military, was carried off by a premature end, in the vigor of his age. The electors, assembled to supply his place, chose Frederic, Duke of Styria, his cousin [b], Emperor of Germany. 1439.

1439—1493. Election of Frederic the Third, to the Imperial throne.

It was not possible to have made a selection less calculated to support the majesty, annexed to the title of chief of the empire. Frederic the Third possessed neither the personal qualities, nor the revenues and territories, indispensable to inspire respect, or to enforce obedience. In an age when the only honorable profession was that of arms, and when chivalry diffused universally a martial spirit through all the higher orders of society, Frederic betrayed no aptitude for war or conquest. Slow, irresolute, and destitute of talents for conceiving, or for executing enterprizes of difficulty; he remained, during the course of his long reign, comprizing more than fifty years, a quiet, and almost an indifferent spectator of the dissensions that arose in the empire of which he was the nominal head, or he exerted himself ineffectually for their suppression. Far from being master even of Austria and its dependancies, he was involved in contests with the other collateral princes of his family, for the sovereignty of Styria and Carinthia. The Imperial crown formed only a splendid title, when stripped of

Character of that prince.

Weakness of Frederic.

[b] Annales de l'Empire, p. 344—347. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii.

the

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the revenue by which alone its possessor could dictate to the great vassals, with whom he was surrounded. The nobility of his hereditary dominions refused to aid him in that quality, or to accompany him in any expeditions foreign to the interests of their own duchy. From all the provinces of his patrimonial inheritance, he only drew the annual inconsiderable sum of fourteen thousand marks of silver; and the nominal successor of the Cæsars, the representative of Augustus and of Trajan, might be esteemed inferior in pecuniary resources, to the meanest prince of Italy. [c]

His expulsion from Austria.

These internal defects were aggravated by external attacks and misfortunes. His brother Albert besieged him in Vienna; and a more powerful enemy, the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, after ravaging Austria, ultimately effected its conquest. Having established himself in the capital of the duchy, he maintained possession of that city till his death. Frederic, thus expelled from his native dominions, led during several years, a wandering and ignominious life; transferring his residence to various cities of the German empire, and retaining little more than the external Insignia of the Imperial rank. Yet, in this state of humiliation and depression, the future greatness of his house was silently preparing to unfold itself, and to astonish Europe. By the death of his brother Albert,

[c] Schmidt. Histoire des Allemans. vol. v. p. 229—232, and p. 358. L'Art. de Verif. vol. ii. p. 37, 38.

and

and by the resignation of Sigismund, his cousin, Count of Tyrol, the patrimony of the Austrian family became again united under one head. Matthias Corvinus having left no legitimate descendants, Vienna, together with the province of Austria, returned to the obedience of Frederic; while he eventually secured the rich succession of the Burgundian princes in the Low Countries, by the marriage of his only son, Maximilian, with Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold. He finally procured the election of Maximilian, to the dignity of King of the Romans, and devolved on him the Imperial crown, some years afterwards, at his own decease.[d]

CHAP. XIII. 1439—1493. Commencement of the Austrian greatness.

Of a character widely different from that of his father, the new Emperor displayed talents and qualities, which might have capacitated him for atchieving the most difficult enterprizes, if he had been properly supported. Active, and ardent to signalize himself, he possessed equally the valor and the conduct, requisite to command armies. Generous even to profusion, he partook in no degree of the parsimony, with which Frederic was, perhaps unjustly, reproached. Affable in his manners, beneficent in his disposition, and born with an elevation of mind, which never forsook him under the severest reverses of fortune; Maximilian was confessedly, one of the most amiable and accomplished

1493—1519. Maximilian the First. His character.

[d] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 296—301, and p. 333—336. L'Art. de Verif. vol. ii. p. 38, and vol. iii. p. 576, 577.

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princes of the age. But, the same defect of revenues, which had rendered his predecessor weak and contemptible, operated to retard, or to disconcert every project, by which he hoped to augment the Imperial power, or to enlarge his limited territories[e]. The early and premature death of Mary of Burgundy, his wife, had deprived him of any participation in the government of the Low Countries; which, during the minority of Philip, his only son, was conducted by a council of state, from which Maximilian was wholly excluded. The princes of the German empire, instead of contributing to his aggrandizement, viewed his efforts with indifference, or watched them with jealous apprehension; and his own dominions were unequal to supporting foreign wars, or facilitating his views of ambition.

Jealousy of the German princes.

To this irremediable deficiency, may be traced, as well as justly attributed, all the failures and disappointments of his reign. Repulsed by the Venetians, in his attempt to force a passage through their territories, when on his way to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope, in the capital of Italy, he saw his person and his dignity alike exposed to contempt. He had proved equally unfortunate, at an earlier period of his life, in the wars which he successively undertook against France and Switzerland. The league of Cambray, when the most

[e] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 363—365, and p. 389. Pfeffel. Abregé Chronol. d'Allemagne, vol. ii. p. 60.

power-

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powerful sovereigns of Europe, Louis the Twelfth of France, and Ferdinand of Arragon, formed a combination to humble the Republic of Venice, in which league the Emperor occupied a distinguished place; appeared to offer him a favorable occasion for recovering his honor, while he augmented his territorial possessions, at the expence of that Commonwealth. Maximilian over-ran in fact without resistance, the unprotected provinces of Venice; captured the cities of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua; and already flattered himself with reviving the Imperial name and functions, which had been so long despised or forgotten in Italy. But, the gradual dereliction of his allies, his own want of pecuniary resources, and the desperate efforts of the Venetians, after they had recovered the first shock, soon undeceived him; and ultimately compelled him to accept an equivalent in money for Verona, the only conquest that he had retained. These repeated mortifications and disgraces, which accompanied him to the termination of his life, were, however, amply compensated by the rising greatness of his house. The Arch-duke Philip, his only son, had, in right of his marriage with Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, prepared for Charles, his heir, the vast succession to Spain, Naples, the Netherlands, and the New World beyond the Atlantic, recently discovered by Columbus. If, to so many kingdoms and provinces of Europe and America, could be joined the Imperial crown, it was evident that a more powerful mo-

1508. League of Cambray.

Rapid progression of the house of Austria.

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narch must arise, than had been beheld by Europe since Charlemagne. The last years of Maximilian were gratified by this exhilarating prospect, though its entire accomplishment did not take place till after his decease: but, his negotiations and exertions in the Electoral College, greatly facilitated the elevation of his grandson, Charles, to the dignity of chief of the empire. That event forms an important æra in the history of modern Europe. [f]

1493—1519.

1519—1530. Reign of Charles the Fifth.

Charles the Fifth had scarcely attained his twentieth year, when he was called to the Imperial throne; and the choice of a prince, already master of such extensive hereditary dominions, appeared on a first view, to menace the extinction of the Germanic system and liberties, in case the new sovereign should be possessed of ability, and not deficient in ambition. The princes and cities of the empire, who had successfully resisted every effort of Frederic and Maximilian, whose scanty resources incapacitated them to undertake any enterprize of duration or of magnitude; might find their united strength unequal to contending with an emperor, sustained by the veteran troops of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries, in addition to those furnished by the patrimony of his Austrian dominions. But, on a closer examination, the circumstances which at first sight seemed to facilitate, did in fact augment the difficulty

Obstacles to his attainment of arbitrary power in Germany.

[f] Pfeffel. Abregé Chronol. d'Allemagne, vol. ii. p. 75—111. passim. Annales de l'Empire. p. 369—393. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 39, 40. Schmidt, vol. v. p. 390—482, passim.

of

of the attempt. Possessions so vast, and yet so widely separated, were not only subject from that very circumstance to invasion; but, could scarcely be united in any great operation of offensive war: and it was natural to conclude, that whatever anxiety the King of Spain had displayed to attain the first dignity of the Christian world, he could not dedicate a large portion of his time or attention, to the affairs of the German empire.

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The whole reign of Charles affords proofs of the justice and solidity of these principles. During the course of more than twenty years, from the period of his election, to the year 1540, he only made three short visits to Germany: he was in fact continually occupied in the administration of the other kingdoms subject to his government, or in the expeditions which he undertook against Francis the First, Solyman the Second, and Barbarossa. His impatience to take possession of the Imperial crown, after his election, had, it is true, induced him, at a moment when Spain was menaced with a dangerous rebellion, to embark from that country, for Flanders. At the risk of losing his hereditary dominions, he proceeded to Aix la Chapelle; from whence he continued his progress to Worms, where he entered on the functions of his office, in a Diet convoked for the purpose of extinguishing the troubles excited by the Reformation. But, Charles exhibited an incontestable proof, that ambition did not form so predominant a feature of his character, as to exclude

Review of his reign.

His donation of Austria to

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1519—1530. the Archduke Ferdinand.

clude the emotions of affection, and the dictates of generosity; by ceding, at this early period of his life, to his brother Ferdinand, all the inheritance devolved to him from Maximilian, their common grandfather. The donation included the Arch-duchy of Austria, with the dependant provinces of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol. They constituted a powerful monarchy. History presents few examples of similar liberality in sovereign princes; the Emperor, by thus dividing the possessions of his house, having spontaneously diminished his own greatness, and that of his immediate posterity.[g]

Return of Charles into Germany.

During the interval which elapsed between the first and the second visit of Charles the Fifth to the German empire, the most brilliant success attended his arms. Francis the First had become his prisoner at the battle of Pavia; and at the termination of the war with France, he had dictated the terms of pacification. His character and the qualities of his mind, which had not unfolded themselves in 1521, when he quitted Germany, were fully ascertained; and the assemblage of great endowments which he possessed, was universally admitted. When, in 1530, after an absence of nine years, he re-appeared at Augsburg, his deportment and conduct excited general respect, while they conciliated the affections of every order of men. But, the religious dissensions between the princes of

[g] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 445, 446. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 116—147. Annales de l'Empire, p. 393—418. Heiss, Hist. de l'Empire, vol. i. p. 339—351.

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the Catholic and Lutheran faith, exceeded his ability to moderate, or to extinguish; and after fruitless exertions to reconcile the contending parties, he was compelled to adopt measures of delay, which only tended to produce greater eventual calamities. The celebrated "league of Smalcald," into which the Protestant chiefs entered for their mutual protection, laid the foundation of those wars by which the empire was subsequently convulsed; and compelled the adherents of the antient religion, some years afterwards, to form a similar alliance, at Nuremberg in Franconia.[h] 1519—1530.

These alarming indications of future misfortune or commotion, did not prevent Charles from steadily pursuing his systematic plan, for perpetuating the Imperial title in the house of Austria, by procuring the election of his brother Ferdinand to the dignity of King of the Romans. In thus reflectively preferring him to his son Philip, Prince of Spain, the Emperor evidently sacrificed the interests of his own lineal descendants, to that of his collateral relations; thus imposing limits to the ambition or grandeur of the Spanish branch of Austria, which limits he afterwards vainly endeavoured to remove. The memorable battle of Mohatz, gained by Soly-man, the Turkish Sultan, over Louis the Second, King of Hungary and Bohemia, had already raised Ferdinand to the throne of both those kingdoms. Louis himself having perished in 1531, 1532. Election of Ferdinand, to the dignity of King of the Romans. Affairs of Hungary.

[h] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 447—459. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 147.

CHAP. XIII. 1531, 1532.

the action, at twenty years of age, without leaving any issue; the Archduke Ferdinand, by virtue of an antient compact made between the two royal houses, and in right likewise of Anne his wife, sister to the young King recently slain, laid claim to both the crowns. The Bohemians delegated to him the sovereignty of that country, though they at the same time solemnly declared it to be an elective, and not an hereditary monarchy: but in Hungary, a faction proclaimed John Zapoli, Prince of Transylvania, for their King; who was nevertheless compelled soon afterwards, by the superior forces of his competitor, to fly into Poland. Having implored the assistance of Solyman, that martial and powerful prince, at the head of a vast army, marched to his relief. Not content with subjecting all Hungary, he even pushed his conquests into the German empire, and laid siege to Vienna. Compelled by the courageous defence which the garrison made, to abandon his attempt, he nevertheless conferred on Zapoli, the Hungarian crown, at Buda; retreating over the Danube, into his own dominions, loaded with spoil and captives. The terror of the Turkish arms, which seemed to menace Austria, if not Germany, with subversion; and the impatience of Charles to repel those formidable invaders with the united forces of the empire, induced him, however reluctantly, to favor the Protestant princes; who obtained in the Diet held at Nuremberg, that suspension of all judicial proceedings against

against them, designated by the name of the "Peace of religion."[1]

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1532—1544.

The vast projects of the Emperor; his two expeditions undertaken against Tunis and against Algiers, the former of which was distinguished by such brilliant success, and the latter clouded by equal misfortunes; his perpetual avocations, which carried him from one extremity of Europe, to the other; and above all, the wars in which, with only short and precarious intervals, he was involved with Francis the First;—these united causes prevented him from giving any regular and systematic attention during many years, to the political concerns of the German empire. His measures were all calculated to procrastinate and to temporize; notwithstanding the encroachments perpetually made by the princes of the reformed religion, which seemed to menace the Imperial power with extinction, and to threaten Germany with universal anarchy.

Measures of Charles the Fifth.

Every concession which could, without totally subverting the Catholic faith and establishments, conciliate that party, and even secure to them the undisturbed enjoyment of the ecclesiastical property on which they had seized; was made both by Charles and Ferdinand, in the Diets of 1544, convened at Ratisbon, and at Spires. But, the effect of these yielding and moderate counsels, proved ineffectual towards producing any permanent union or reconciliation, between

His moderation towards the Protestants.

[1] Sacy, Histoire d'Hongrie, vol. i. p. 255—257. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 148—150. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 459—491.

two

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1532—1544.

two parties inflamed by theological animosity. After the peace of Crepy, when a cessation of hostilities took place with France, it became evident, that unless the Emperor chose to submit to the destruction of his supremacy, and to the complete subversion of all the institutions of the Romish church in the empire, he must defend them by the sword.[k]

1544—1550. War with the Smalcaldic league.

It was not however without the utmost reluctance, after making every effort to retain the Protestants in civil and religious obedience, that Charles had recourse to this desperate expedient. His augmenting bodily infirmities; the exhausted state of his finances; his desire to revisit Spain; his apprehension of the concealed opposition of Francis the First; and his dread of the open hostilities of Solyman;—all these combined reasons inclined him to prefer peace. But, the contempt with which his entreaties or his commands were equally received, by John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, surmounted his repugnance. The latter prince had peculiarly irritated and indisposed towards him the Emperor, by rejecting his personal solicitations to attend the Diet, summoned to meet at Ratisbon. From the former, who was conscientiously attached to the reformation, no condescension could be expected, nor any submission obtained

[k] Heiss, vol. i. p. 352—378. Annales de l'Empire, p. 419—439. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 491—533; and vol. vii. p. 1—170, passim. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 150—165.

to

to articles of faith, imposed on him by violence. At no period of his reign, did Charles display greater magnanimity, capacity, and resources of every kind, than during the war carried on against the Protestant league. Under numerous disadvantages, with inferior forces, and sustained by the Imperial name, rather than by any essential support derived from the German empire, he humbled and subdued his opponents. The battle of Muhlberg, in which he obtained a decisive victory, delivered up to him the Elector of Saxony; while the Landgrave of Hesse, trusting to some vague and indefinite assurances of personal freedom, soon afterwards voluntarily surrendered himself. Towards John Frederic, the Emperor exercised extreme and unjustifiable severity; sentenced him to lose his dominions; conferred by an arbitrary act, the Electoral dignity on Maurice of Saxony, his relation, who, though a Protestant, had adhered to the Imperial cause; and finally retained the unfortunate Elector in captivity. The Landgrave, tho' less rigorously punished in his public capacity as a sovereign, was equally deprived of his personal liberty. All the inferior princes and cities, terrified at these illustrious examples, submitted; and expiated by pecuniary fines or contributions, their late resistance.

CHAP. XIII. 1544—1550.

Battle of Muhlberg.

Charles, victorious over the Protestant confederacy, opened with the utmost solemnity, the Diet of Augsburg, and caused to be publickly adopted by the States there assembled, as a fundamental law, the famous declaration, known

Diet of Augsburg.

CHAP. XIII.

1544—1550.

known in history by the title of the "Interim;" which regulated the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies in all their essential points, till the determination of a general council of the Christian church. If the asperity and rancor of the religious parties in that age of persecution, could have allowed them to embrace healing or conciliatory measures; the expedient proposed by the Emperor, was unquestionably calculated to restore concord. But, he soon experienced, that it is more easy to vanquish nations, than to controul the freedom of the human mind on subjects of faith: notwithstanding the silence and submission with which the "Interim" was received, it was either eluded, or indignantly rejected, equally by Catholics and Protestants. Yet Charles, who long adhered to this favorite project, exhausted his remaining intellectual and physical strength, in endeavours to procure its reception thro'out the empire. He manifested not less anxiety, that the members of the Germanic body should send delegates to the general council of the church; which assembly, after having been suspended under the pontificate of Paul the Third, had been convoked anew at Trent, by Julius the Third, his successor in the chair of St. Peter.[1]

1551, 1552. Maurice, Elector of Saxony,

All these futile projects were rendered abortive by unforeseen impediments, which originated in the very quarters where he had calcu-

[1] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 183—865, passim. Heiss, vol. i. p. 379—398. Annales de l'Empire, p. 439—449.

lated

lated on the most profound and implicit submission. Maurice, on whom he had conferred the Electorate of Saxony, and whom he had elevated, on the ruin of his relation, the unfortunate John Frederic; irritated at the Emperor's detention of the Landgrave of Hesse, in violation of his engagement; and dissatisfied with the regulations promulgated at Augsburg, relative to matters of religion; took up arms against his benefactor. Availing himself of Charles's supine security, his infirm health, and defenceless condition, Maurice, by a rapid march thro' the defiles of the Tyrol, attacked the city of Inspruck, in which he had fixed his residence; and after nearly taking him prisoner, compelled him to fly with precipitation, in a litter, over the Alps, into Carinthia. Terrified at the approach of so formidable an enemy as Maurice, the prelates assembled at Trent, instantly dispersed; after having dissolved the council, which had so long formed an object of the Emperor's anxious solicitude, and on whose deliberations he had mistakenly reposed, for the restoration of religious tranquillity thro'out the empire. Yielding to the pressure of necessity, and convinced of the impracticability of his projects for establishing unity of faith, Charles renounced all further interference or exertions for that purpose: while his brother, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, repairing to Passau, submitted to the conditions of peace which were dictated by the Elector of Saxony, as head of the protestant confederacy. The uncontrouled freedom

1551, 1552. takes up arms against Charles.

Conclusion of peace.

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freedom of opinion on matters of conscience, together with the maintenance of the Lutherans in all their immunities, civil and ecclesiastical, till the future decision of a Diet, formed the basis of this accommodation, to which Charles reluctantly acceded. [m]

1551, 1552.

From this memorable period, when he received the law from those whom he had so lately vanquished, we may regard his reign, as chief of the empire, at an end; though he still continued to retain the Imperial title, and to exercise its nominal functions, for more than three years. Disgusted with power, frustrated in all his views, debilitated by diseases, impaired in the force of his mind, and incapable of renewing the contest, Charles hastened to quit the scene of his late humiliation; after having invested Ferdinand with ample authority to terminate definitively all disputes with the Protestants. Anxious to repel the invasion made by Henry the Second, King of France, on the territories of Germany; and to recover the conquests which that prince had recently effected, by reducing to his obedience Metz, Toul, and Verdun, Charles led his troops to the siege of Metz; where, regardless of the advanced season of the year, he persisted in his endeavours for its reduction. But, fortune, which had so eminently favored him in the

1553, 1554.

Siege of Metz.

[m] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 174—178. Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 373—404. Heiss, vol. i. p. 398—402.

early

early part of his life, at Pavia and at Tunis, abandoned him towards the close of his career. The bravery of the garrison, commanded by the celebrated Francis, Duke of Guise, so distinguished in the history of that period, compelled him to relinquish his enterprize, and to conduct his shattered army back to Flanders. [n] CHAP. XIII. 1553, 1554.

The short remainder of his reign presents the most instructive and affecting display of the vanity of human greatness, which is to be found in the annals of mankind. Charles appeared no more in person, either among his German, or his Spanish subjects, so long as he continued to retain the administration of affairs. Immured at Brussels, while he devolved on his ministers all public business, he began to divest himself of his power, by resigning to Philip, his only son, the kingdom of Naples, and his possessions in Lombardy. This partial renunciation, which involved him in the necessity of abdicating all his other dominions, or of coming to a rupture with his successor; impelled him to conclude his political career, by the resignation of Spain, and his vast acquisitions in the New World, at a time of life when the infirmities of age are usually unknown, and when the love of ambition is generally most predominant [o]. Previous to so extraordinary an act, the King of the 1555, 1556. Abdication of Charles.

[o] Annales de l'Empire, p. 453—457. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 178—179.

[p] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 477—483. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 184, 185.

Romans,

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1555, 1556. Final termination of the disputes of religion.

Romans, in virtue of the full powers delegated to him by his brother, convoked a Diet at Augsburg; in which assembly, after numerous and almost insurmountable difficulties, a final termination was put to the disputes between the two religions, which had so long agitated, as well as desolated the empire. The Lutheran princes and states were confirmed in the possession of all the ecclesiastical lands or property, seized on by them since the introduction of the reformation; and every security for the enjoyment of their civil, as well as religious liberties, stipulated at the treaty of Passau, was strengthened and augmented at Augsburg. But, an insuperable limit was, at the same time, opposed to their further encroachments on the lands or possessions of the Catholic church, by the introduction of the famous clause, known under the name of the "Ecclesiastical Reservation." It enacted, that every person, of whatever quality, who might in future embrace the confession of Augsburg; if he had been previously possessed of any preferment in the Romish church, should forfeit it by that act. The Protestants, repeatedly, but vainly, endeavoured to remove a barrier, which precluded them from overturning the Hierarchy; and from gradually alienating, or seizing on all the great establishments of the Catholic faith and worship thro'out the German empire. Neither Ferdinand, nor any of his successors, however inclined they might be to yield upon many other points, could ever be induced or terrified into the slightest

"Ecclesiastical Reservation."

slightest infraction of this fundamental declaration.[p]

CHAP. XIII.

1556.

Character of Charles the Fifth.

The reign, followed by the abdication of Charles the Fifth, offer to the historian and the philosopher a croud of reflexions, which neither the nature nor the limits of the present work permit us to pursue. No prince of his age attracted so much attention, from his endowments of mind and character, as well as from the extent of his dominions. Henry the Eighth can support no comparison with him. Even Francis the First, his rival, more amiable as a man, and more heroic in the field of battle, was far inferior in the virtues of a sovereign. During the greater portion of his life, Charles is to be regarded as King of Spain, rather than as Emperor of Germany; and in the former capacity, he appears more elevated than in the latter. Against France, with the two exceptions of his attack upon Provence in 1536, and the unfortunate siege of Metz in 1554, he was almost uniformly successful and victorious. In the empire, he was over-reached by Maurice of Saxony; driven from Inspruck with circumstances of personal humiliation; and obliged to renounce his projects of every kind, which he had pursued with such unwearied pertinacity. In the very plenitude of his power, after the victory of Muhlberg, which seemed to subject Germany to his disposal, he vainly attempted to procure

[p] Heiss, vol. i. p. 404—407. Annales de l'Empire, p. 458—460. Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 437—477. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 185, 186.

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the substitution of his son Philip, in the place of his brother, Ferdinand, as king of the Romans; or even to associate him in that dignity. Before his abdication at Brussels, his Imperial authority had already expired: Ferdinand, who occupied his place at the memorable Diet of Augsburg in 1555, was virtually regarded as head of the empire.[q]

Situation of Ferdinand the First, at his accession.

His situation as emperor, differed notwithstanding in many important particulars, from the position of Charles the Fifth. Destitute of the vast resources, possessed by so powerful a monarch; unsupported by the forces and treasures of Spain, Italy, or the Netherlands; pressed on the eastern frontier by the Ottoman forces, who perpetually menaced Austria; Ferdinand scarcely occupied a higher place in the political scale of Germany, than his ancestors, Frederic the Third, and Maximilian the First, had filled; while the difficulties with which he had to struggle, were far greater and more numerous. It was indeed true, that in addition to the patrimonial inheritance of Austria, with the duchies dependant on it, he joined the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, united in his own person. But, these dignities imposed severe obligations, and produced a very inadequate compensation. Bohemia was agitated and disturbed by the followers of the celebrated reformers, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague;

State of Bohemia.

[q] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 365—373, and p. 483—491. Pfeffel. vol. ii. p. 187. Heiss, vol. i. p. 408, 409.

who,

who, above a century before the appearance of Luther, had promulgated doctrines of faith, deemed so heretical by the council of Constance, as only to be expiated by committing their authors to the flames. The people universally regarded the crown as elective, though Ferdinand had compelled them to declare it hereditary; and their allegiance to his person, was very problematical. During the war carried on by Charles and Ferdinand, against the Protestant league, the Bohemians, who had manifested the strongest attachment to the cause of the reformed princes, were not retained in obedience without great exertions. CHAP. XIII. 1556.

Hungary stood in a far more unfortunate, as well as exposed condition; and instead of augmenting the power of its nominal sovereign, drained his exchequer in perpetual efforts to recover it from the Turkish yoke. After the memorable battle of Mohatz in 1526, no European country, for the space of above a hundred and fifty years, was so desolated, and abandoned to every calamity. Solyman, the scourge of the house of Austria, under pretence of maintaining the son of John Zapoli on the Hungarian throne, appeared again in person, at the head of a formidable army, on the banks of the Danube. The Austrian general was repulsed with loss and dishonour, before Buda, the capital: while the Turkish emperor, no longer restrained by any regard to the laws of justice, or to the sanctity of the trust reposed in him by the deceased king, who, when dying, had State of Hungary. Conduct of Solyman the Second.

CHAP. XIII. 1556.

placed under Solyman's protection his infant successor; took possession of the city, and banished the Queen-dowager, together with her son, into Transylvania. Treating with indignity the embassadors of Ferdinand, who demanded for their master the investiture of Hungary, he proceeded to complete the reduction of the kingdom: notwithstanding the united exertions of Charles the Fifth and his brother, the Ottoman troops continued progressively to advance towards the frontiers of the German empire.[r]

Martinuzzi.

The troubles or rather anarchy which ensued, proved favorable to the bold and aspiring talents of Martinuzzi, Bishop of Waradin; who governed the principality of Transylvania, under the minority of the young King, John Sigismund, and who had reduced the Queen-dowager, his mother, to a state of servitude. After having long sustained himself by the authority of Solyman, Martinuzzi, disgusted at the barbarities exercised by the Turks, or apprehensive of the loss of his own power, opened a negotiation with Ferdinand; and prevailed on the Queen, in her son's name, formally to surrender the Hungarian crown, together with the Insignia of the royal dignity, and the province of Transylvania itself, to that prince. Two inconsiderable duchies in Silesia, which formed a very

His negotiations.

[r] Sacy, Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. i. p. 264—304. La Croiz, Hist. Ottomane, vol. i. p. 378—380, and p. 386—392, and p. 394—396, and p. 414—416, and p. 424—426.

inade-

inadequate compensation for such a cession, were given to John Sigismund in exchange. Grateful for so distinguished a service, Ferdinand strove to repay it, by heaping honors, ecclesiastical and civil, on Martinuzzi; who was made a member of the sacred college, and entrusted with the almost unlimited conduct of affairs, thro'out the countries which he had thus subjected to the house of Austria. But, the temporary tranquillity, produced by this event, was soon followed by greater convulsions. Castaldo, who commanded the Spanish forces, sent by Charles the Fifth to the assistance of the King of Hungary his brother, having accused the Cardinal of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the court of Constantinople, received directions to anticipate its result, by causing him to be assassinated. The order was executed, almost in the presence of the Spanish commander, by five gentlemen, with circumstances of the most revolting and perfidious barbarity. It is difficult to justify Ferdinand for authorizing such an act, even if we admit in its fullest extent, the truth of the accusation brought against Martinuzzi; and although we should allow, that under the existing circumstances, it was dangerous, or might be found impracticable, to bring so powerful and ambitious a subject to a public trial. Solyman, irritated at the proceeding, and determined on revenge, asserted anew the cause of the young King, John Sigismund; who being recalled by the Transylvanians, was conducted by his

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1556. Administration, and assassination.

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mother into that country, which became the theatre of hostilities. He maintained himself against the Austrian generals, supported by the affection of the people; and the kingdom of Hungary was again desolated by the misfortunes incident to a war, in which the two parties equally trampled upon all the laws of humanity.[s]

1556. Troubles of Hungary.

1557—1563. Distrust of the German princes.

Under these distressful circumstances, Ferdinand succeeded to the Imperial throne. His situation, which demanded the utmost caution, rendered it necessary to blend firmness, with yielding and conciliatory measures. The wars, produced by religion, had left a distrust the most fatal to general union or harmony, among all the members of the Germanic system; and it was found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to contribute even to the expences, necessary for their own preservation as a political body. Ferdinand vainly called their attention to the alarming state of Hungary, and the augmenting danger to be apprehended from the progress of the Turkish arms. Neither the Catholic, nor the Protestant states, would listen to his requisitions; and after fruitless attempts, made in repeated Diets, he was therefore necessitated to defend his dominions, with the resources arising from his hereditary possessions[t]. All his efforts to effect a re-union of the two religions, by adopting those rules of faith and discipline, in which the followers of

[s] La Croix, vol. i. p. 438—442, and p. 452—460. Sacy, vol. i. p. 304—342, and vol. ii. p. 1—23.

[t] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 49—63. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 192—194.

both

both were agreed, proved no less ineffectual. The princes and cities who had embraced the Creed, known by the name of "the Confession "of Augsburg," refused either to attend, or to concur in the deliberations of the council of Trent, which, at the Emperor's solicitation, Pius the Fourth had again convoked. The papal see was equally deaf to his demand, for permitting the Austrian clergy to marry; notwithstanding the cogent and unanswerable reasons, alledged by Ferdinand and his ministers, to justify the measure, on moral, as well as on political principles. It was not till after long negotiation, and after many delays, that the court of Rome thought proper to relax on another article, that of allowing the laity to partake of the communion in both kinds; a concession indispensable for retaining the subjects of Ferdinand in their subjection to the Catholic church and worship. [u]

Inflexibility of the papal see.

Notwithstanding these mortifying refusals or disappointments, relative to measures esteemed by the Emperor to be of the highest consequence to his own greatness, and to the general felicity of the empire; his short reign will ever be regarded as a period, marked by the most auspicious circumstances of tranquillity, and distinguished by its wisdom. The amiable character of Ferdinand, his moderation, his liberality of sentiment on matters of conscience, and his

Tranquillity of the German empire, under Ferdinand.

[u] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 80—156. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 196—198. Annales de l'Empire, p. 462, 463. Heiss, vol. i. p. 411—413.

CHAP. XIII. 1557—1563.

ardent, though useless zeal to extinguish religious animosity among the German princes and states; — these virtues were universally felt and acknowledged. The momentary incursions and depredations of Grumbach, a private gentleman who after having assassinated the Bishop of Wurtzburg in Franconia, committed various excesses in that city; constituted the only interruptions of the profound peace, which prevailed thro'out the Circles of Germany. All the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, from the frontiers of Saxony, to the shores of the Adriatic, participated in this repose, with the exception of Hungary; which unhappy kingdom continued during many years, a prey to the calamities, inseparable from a contested succession, aggravated by the Turkish ferocity. Towards the conclusion of his life, the Emperor condescended to purchase of Solyman a truce for eight years, at the annual price of thirty thousand Ducats; and John Sigismund, his competitor for the Hungarian throne, was included in the treaty. The vast inequality of revenues and forces, which existed between the Turkish Sultan, and the German Emperor; the total indifference expressed by the Diets, relative to the fate of Hungary; and the precarious, or inadequate contributions granted by those assemblies, for the purpose of repelling the Turks, who perpetually gained ground on the Imperial commanders; — these circumstances form an eloquent justification of Ferdinand's

Truce purchased of Solyman.

dinand's conduct, in submitting to terms of so humiliating a nature. [x]

CHAP. XIII.

1563, 1564.

The unanimity with which the electors of both religions, ecclesiastical and civil, concurred in electing his son Maximilian, to the dignity of King of the Romans, was calculated in some measure to console the Emperor for his involuntary concessions to the Porte. The ceremony of that prince's coronation, which was performed at Francfort, with the accustomed solemnities, seemed to secure the continuance of the Imperial title in the family of Austria. His success in so favourite a measure, induced Ferdinand to renew his exertions for restoring unanimity on religious subjects, throughout the empire; and he redoubled his efforts in the Council of Trent, to procure a relaxation on the points, which had hitherto impeded this salutary object. In order, by his personal weight and exhortations, to facilitate its completion, he removed his residence from Vienna to Inspruck; and notwithstanding his augmenting bodily infirmities, could not without extreme reluctance, be induced to relinquish his patriotic endeavours. Convinced at length that the council, far from being animated with any desire of conciliating the Protestants, or of producing a reform in the Romish church and court, was only an engine, directed by the Legates, subservient to the papal intrigues or interests, and incapable of listening

Maximilian, elected King of the Romans.

Ineffectual endeavours of Ferdinand, to obtain a toleration for the Protestants.

[x] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 76—79, and p. 178, 179. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 28—34.

to

CHAP. XIII.

1563, 1564. His death.

to any enlarged principles of comprehensive toleration; he desisted, and even consented to the dissolution of so useless an assembly. His concern at the event, is supposed to have hastened the attacks of the disease, which soon afterwards terminated his life, at sixty years of age. [y]

1564. Character.

The lustre, as well as the duration of his predecessor's reign, together with the temporary grandeur of the Imperial dignity, while held by Charles the Fifth, sovereign of Spain and of the Indies, have thrown the actions of Ferdinand into the shade, and obscured their intrinsic merit. His endowments of mind, tho' less calculated to extend the limits of his dominions, than the abilities which distinguished his brother, were far more adapted to conduce to the felicity and repose of his subjects. His judgment was sound, and influenced in all its operations by a heart replete with humanity. Erasmus, whose enlarged and liberal conceptions on every topic of theological controversy, are well known from his writings, had superintended Ferdinand's education, and directed his studies: Cicero, with whose philosophical productions he was familiar, had expanded his mind. Zealously attached, himself, to the Catholic faith, he was neither persecuting nor intolerant, in an age characterized by religious violence and rancour. Firm, and capable of supporting his ministers, as well as his measures, he was yet free from the

[y] Heiss, vol. i. p. 413, 414. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 199, 200. Annales de l'Empire, p. 463—465. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 157—267, passim.

obsti-

obstinate inflexibility of Charles. Irreproachable in the walks of private life, he formed a model of conjugal fidelity, temperance, and every domestic virtue. His application to public business, which never intermitted, continued undiminished even to the near approach of his dissolution. "Assure yourself," says Busbequius, when writing on the subject of the Emperor Ferdinand, "that the sun never shone "upon a better prince than this, nor one who "governs more justly." The detail which he gives of his Imperial master's private life, and unremitting, as well as conscientious discharge of his public duties, cannot be perused without emotion. The great act, denominated "the "Peace of Religion," which suspended the disputes between the Catholic and Protestant states of the empire, was eminently due to his unwearied exertions, and was maintained by his vigor, in defiance of every attack. His love of justice and of peace, his tenacious adherence to his promises, combined with the gentleness of his manners, conspired to render him one of the most excellent princes who has ever held the Imperial sceptre, and to endear his memory to the Germans. He may be regarded as the founder of the greatness of the younger branch of the house of Austria, by the permanent acquisition of Hungary and of Bohemia; though the former of those kingdoms was not effectually reduced to the obedience of his descendants, by the expulsion of the Turks, till towards the termination of the seven-

CHAP. XIII. 1564.

seventeenth century, under his descendant, Leopold the First. In no circumstance of his life was Ferdinand more fortunate than in his son Maximilian, who in succeeding to his crowns, inherited his talents and virtues. [z]

Accession, and character of Maximilian the Second.

If Europe has ever beheld in modern ages, the throne occupied by a sage and a philosopher, it took place in the person of Maximilian the Second. In benevolence and humanity, his contemporaries compared him with Titus; while in the simplicity of his manners, his renunciation of pleasure, and severe discharge of every moral obligation, we are reminded of Marcus Antoninus. Formed for peace, he endeavoured to dispense that invaluable possession to all his subjects; and to allay by his interposition or authority, the animosities produced from difference of religious belief. Suspected of leaning towards the new opinions of the reformation, he yet steadily maintained, both in his hereditary dominions, and in the empire, the purity of the Catholic faith; nor ever permitted the Protestants to break down the barriers opposed to their future progress, by his predecessors. His mild, beneficent temper, illuminated by reflexion, induced him to regard all violence in matters of conscience, as equally unjust and impolitic. He stands in this particular, strikingly opposed to his cousin, Philip the Second, King of Spain; whose bigotted intolerance produced the revolt of the Nether-

[z] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 267—272. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 200, 201. Heiss, vol. i. p. 414.

lands,

lands, and pursued heresy thro'out Europe, with fire and sword. In order to have rendered Maximilian one of the most illustrious, as he indisputably was one of the most amiable princes, whom Providence has raised up for the felicity of mankind, a more active, martial, and enterprizing disposition was alone wanting. His exposed situation on the Hungarian frontiers, and the perpetual inroads of the Turkish Sultans during the sixteenth century, along the course of the Danube, demanded a sovereign possessing military talents, and knowledge of the art of war. The operation of this defect in his character, was however confined to Hungary; while his virtues dispensed happiness and tranquillity over all the other people subjected to his government. He was beloved by the Austrians, idolized by the Bohemians, and regarded thro'out Germany, by the Catholics and Protestants, as the common parent, no less than the protector of his subjects of every denomination. [a]

CHAP. XIII. 1564.

The restless ambition and pretensions of John Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, who having broken the truce, had invaded Upper Hungary, necessitated the Emperor, at an early period of his reign, to convoke a Diet, in which he demanded supplies of men and money. They were granted with an alacrity and celerity little customary in those assemblies; which resulted not more from the apprehensions excited by the

1564—1567. War with Solyman.

[a] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 215, 216. Schmidt, vol. iii. p. 386—390.

impend-

CHAP. XIII. 1564—1567.

impending war, than they were due to the general respect and affection borne towards Maximilian. Solyman, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, appearing again in the field, as the ally of his Transylvanian vassal; at the head of a vast army, laid siege to the town of Sigeth in Lower Hungary. He expired in the camp, before the capture of that city was effected; and the Count de Serini, to whom its defence had been entrusted, obtained an immortal reputation, by the desperate valor with which he long repulsed the assailants. Reduced at length to the necessity of dying, or of capitulating with an enemy who violated all compacts, he generously preferred the former alternative; and rushing on the Turks, with the small remains of his garrison, perished by the scimitars of the Janizaries. The Vizier sent his head to Maximilian, accompanied with a contemptuous and insulting message, reproaching him for pusillanimity or inactivity, in not advancing to the relief of Serini[b]. Since the memorable campaign of 1532, when Charles the Fifth had in person opposed Solyman, Germany had not sent so powerful a body of forces to combat the Turks, as the army which Maximilian commanded. But, the timidity, or the prudence of his generals, who were still greatly inferior in numbers to the Ottoman army; together with the recol-

Capture of Sigeth by the Turks.

[b] La Croix, vol. i. p. 534—537. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 202—204. Annales de l'Empire, p. 465—468. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 306—315. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 38—51.

lection

lection of the unfortunate battles of Varna and of Mohatz, which the Hungarian princes had fought against those invaders; induced the Emperor to remain upon the defensive. Selim the Second, son and successor of Solyman, whose views of conquest were directed principally against the Venetians, consented soon after his accession, to renew the truce between the two empires, upon terms favourable to the house of Austria. The Transylvanian prince, who was not included in the treaty, continued his hostilities or depredations, during several years; but, they were at length terminated by his renunciation of the title of King of Hungary, which article formed the basis of an amicable agreement, and restored temporary tranquillity to the desolated provinces lying at the foot of the Carpathian mountains.[c]

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1564—1567. Renewal of the truce with Selim the Second.

The benign influence of the qualities and virtues, which peculiarly distinguished Maximilian, was more sensibly felt in his hereditary provinces, where he appeared in his proper and natural character, as the paternal legislator of his people. The internal repose of the German empire suffered a temporary interruption, from the continued atrocities of Grumbach; an individual whose acts of violence had already excited universal indignation under the reign of Ferdinand. John Frederic the Second, Duke of Saxe Gotha, son to the magnanimous and unfortunate Elector of Saxony, deposed by

Affairs of Saxe Gotha.

[c] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 315—318. La Croix, vol. i. p. 543, 544. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 51—57. Heiss, vol. i. 418, 419.

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Charles the Fifth, after the battle of Muhlberg; persisted in defiance of the Imperial mandate, to afford a retreat and protection to this invader of the public peace. Moved by considerations of compassion and friendship, the Emperor warned him of his error, pointed out to him its consequences, and exhorted him to avert the inevitable punishment, by delivering up Grumbach. But, John Frederic, who, to a contracted understanding, joined the wildest fanaticism, and the most unlimited credulity, persisted to grant him an asylum in his palace and capital. Maximilian was therefore reluctantly necessitated to lay him under the Ban of the empire. Augustus, the reigning Elector of Saxony, brother and successor of Maurice, so celebrated under Charles the Fifth, who was principally charged with its execution, besieged the Duke in the city of Gotha. He was reduced to surrender; carried prisoner to Vienna; and after being exposed to the view of the populace, in a state of ignominy as well as degradation, he was finally detained in captivity till his death. Grumbach suffered by the hand of the executioner, together with several of his adherents or accomplices. Some slight disturbances which took place in the Electorate of Treves, and in the duchy of Mecklenburg, were the only other circumstances which invaded the profound tranquillity enjoyed by Germany under Maximilian.[d]

Repose of Germany.

[d] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 319—328. Heiss, vol. i. p. 417, 418. Annales de l'Empire, p. 468, 469. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 208, 209.

Encou-

CHAP. XIII. 1568—1574.

Encouraged by so favourable an aspect of public affairs, and yielding to the benignity of his disposition, he ventured on a step which places the superiority and expansion of his mind, in the most conspicuous point of view. The stipulations contained in his coronation oath, when elected Emperor of Germany, as well as the articles constituting the act denominated "the Peace of Religion," on which alone, the stability and maintenance of the Catholic faith depended, fettering him in his Imperial capacity, permitted him to make no infringement whatever on those points. But, as Arch-duke of Austria, he possessed a power of relaxing the severity of the laws, which denied liberty of conscience to his Protestant subjects. Notwithstanding the remonstrances made by the Spanish embassador, in the name of his sovereign, Philip the Second; and in defiance of the menaces of Pius the Fifth, a bigotted Dominican monk, who filled the papal chair; Maximilian gave the first voluntary example of religious toleration to Europe, by permitting the nobility and Equestrian order thro'-out Austria, to celebrate publickly the ceremonies of their worship, in their castles and houses, as well as on their estates. This indulgence, nevertheless, which was strictly limited to the two classes above mentioned, neither extended to the people at large, nor even included the inhabitants of cities; who vainly endeavoured to shake the Emperor's deter-

Toleration granted by Maximilian.

Nature and limits of it.

CHAP. XIII.

1568—1574.

Reflexions on the Emperor's conduct.

determination on the subject, or to elude his vigilance.[e]

In the present century, when the minds of men, enlarged and humanized by philosophy, are become familiar with toleration; and when the most bigotted European nations admit some species of religious freedom; a permission so circumscribed in its operation as that granted by Maximilian, may not appear to merit any extravagant eulogiums. But, the actions of men are not only to be appreciated by the eternal laws of rectitude and justice: they must be in some measure likewise referable to the modes of thinking received by their contemporaries, and generally adopted by the age. On every side, Maximilian beheld only the most intolerant bigotry. The Spanish Netherlands and France were desolated by their respective sovereigns, in order to extinguish heresy, and to spread the unity of the Catholic faith. Even among the Protestants themselves, the most rancorous and sanguinary animosities prevailed, to the total subversion of all mutual good offices. Servetus was committed to the flames at Geneva, by Calvin, for some speculative difference of opinion on abstruse points of theology; while the Lutherans regarded with horror the doctrines inculcated by that reformer, and by Zuinglius. Maximilian, in an age of persecu-

[e] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 329—341. Annales de l'Empire, p. 470. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 210. Heiss, vol. i. p. 421.

tion,

tion, declared publickly his repugnance to all religious violence, and his unalterable opinion, that "to the Supreme Being alone it belonged "to judge the conscience." Nor did he content himself with only asserting this principle: his active benevolence impelled him to make every exertion, in order to stop the destructive influence of bigotry thro'out other countries. Touched with the sufferings and complaints of the Flemings, he dispatched his brother, the Archduke Charles, to Philip the Second, with directions to remonstrate with that prince on his violation of their privileges, civil and religious; but this wise and humane interposition proved wholly ineffectual. He did not conceal his detestation of the massacre of St. Bartholemew, for which Rome and Madrid made public demonstrations of joy; and when Henry the Third, newly become King of France, passed through Vienna, in his flight from Poland to his own country, the Emperor strongly exhorted him to commence his reign, by maxims and principles of toleration. It would have been happy for Henry, and for his people, if he had been capable of profiting by the advice. [f]

CHAP. XIII. 1568—1574. Enlargement and beneficence of his character.

In order to form a just estimate of the political power, situation, and resources of the house of Austria, at this period, we must separate the Imperial dignity, from the hereditary dominions of Maximilian. Notwithstanding some acts of authority, approaching to ab-

1574. State and situation of the house of Austria, at this period.

[f] Heiss, vol. i. p. 421. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 142.

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solute power, which Charles the Fifth ventured to exercise, on the defeat and dispersion of the Protestant states, after the battle of Muhlberg in 1546; it is incontestable that the real weight and consequence of the German emperors were reduced under Ferdinand the First, and Maximilian the Second, to a very low condition. Scarcely any revenues or appropriate domains whatsoever were annexed to the Imperial office; and whenever it became requisite to levy contributions from the Germanic body, for the purpose of supporting its prerogatives, or enforcing its claims, the greatest impediments were to be previously surmounted, of every kind[g]. Numberless examples and proofs of this fact might be adduced, from a review of the two last reigns. It was not without reiterated solicitations, that Ferdinand the First obtained supplies of men and money, wherewith to enable him to defend Hungary, when attacked by the Turks; though the empire was obviously interested in the preservation of a kingdom, which forming a barrier against the Ottoman conquests, constituted the bulwark of Germany. Ferdinand complained to the members of the Diet assembled at Augsburg in 1559, that the pecuniary supplies voted him by that assembly, three years preceding, were not even then fully paid. He added, that he had been reduced to the necessity of disbanding his troops, without discharg-

Prerogatives annexed to the Imperial dignity.

Poverty of the emperors.

[g] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 545—549.

ing,

ing their arrears, from the deficiency in making good the money granted him by the states of the empire. [h] CHAP. XIII. 1574.

This evil resulted principally, from the want of a fixed and regular standard of assessment. Not only the money was levied with notorious partiality and inequality, the free cities contributing in a much larger proportion than the powerful princes; but, these latter sovereigns, after exacting taxes from their subjects, to more than double the amount of their respective quotas, afterwards paid into the Imperial treasury, whatever part of the sum they thought proper [i]. Such glaring injustice was practised in this respect, that in the distribution of the taxes imposed in 1559, in order to raise the amount of five hundred thousand Florins of gold, granted by the Diet to Ferdinand the First; the city of Nordlingen in Suabia was compelled to pay as large a proportion, as the whole Palatinate contributed, together with the duchy of Neubourg. In like manner, the single abbey of Elchingen was rated higher than the extensive duchy of Brunswic Wolfenbuttle [k]. The emperors, however deeply they regretted, did not venture to attempt a reform of the grievance, which might have proved too dangerous an experiment. Maximilian the Second, who, from his popularity, added to the universal affection borne him by Catholics and Protestants, found more facility than his predecessor had done, in ob-

Causes of it.

Unequal and partial levies of money.

[h] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 60—62. [i] Ibid. p. 62. [k] Ibid. p. 62.

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taining pecuniary supplies from the empire; yet complained how inadequate were the sums accorded him, for protecting the frontier provinces of Austria and Styria against the Turks. [l]

The misfortune was augmented by another circumstance; namely, that these supplies were only given for a limited, and usually, for a short period: nor was it ever possible to induce the Diets to render the contribution permanent and perpetual. The encrease of the Imperial authority formed too great an object of apprehension [m]. Even in matters which seemed to respect the Germanic body, more than the head, it was found difficult to rouse that unwieldy confederacy, or to induce them to make any pecuniary exertions. When it was determined on sending an embassy to Francis the Second, King of France, in 1559, in order to demand restitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, recently conquered by his predecessor, as being dependencies of the empire; the necessary expence, though not estimated at more than fifty thousand Florins, long delayed the departure of the embassadors [n]. It was not possible to exhibit a stronger proof of the indifference, with which so considerable a defalcation of territory was considered by the German princes and states. Livonia, till after the middle of the sixteenth century, was considered as forming part of the German empire. But, from the want of timely

Sluggishness of the Germanic body.

[l] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 306, 307.

[m] Ibid. vol. v. p. 549.

[n] Scarcely five thousand pounds sterling. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 66—69. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 194.

support

support or assistance, that important and fertile province, the granary of the north, containing invaluable ports and harbours; ravaged by Ivan Basilowitz the Second, Czar of Muscovy, and abandoned by its natural protectors, submitted to the crown of Poland. The Emperor Ferdinand made repeated application to the Diets, in favor of the Livonians; and he actually obtained in 1561, a supply of two hundred thousand Florins, which sum was transmitted to Riga; but, so small and ineffectual an aid produced no beneficial effect. Livonia was irrecoverably lost; and after passing from the Polish government, under the dominion of Sweden, has been finally swallowed up in the Russian empire. [o]

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Power and prerogatives of the emperors.

Notwithstanding the diminished state of the Imperial power after the abdication of Charles the Fifth, and the total want of revenue under which it laboured, many valuable prerogatives and claims still remained to its possessor. His supremacy, sovereignty, and jurisdiction over all the component members of the empire, were unquestioned; though the practical exercise was accompanied with restrictions, and could only be put in force against any one prince, with the consent and participation of the other co-ordinate states. Among the most important rights of the emperors, must be accounted the faculty of granting investitures, and the disposal of vacant fiefs. The house

Investitures.

[o] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 73—76. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 194, and p. 197, 198.

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of Austria owed its original permanent greatness to this very privilege; the Emperor Rodolph the First having in virtue of his office, invested his own son Albert, with the vacant duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which constituted in themselves a powerful, as well as an extensive sovereignty [p]. Reversions of fiefs, not yet open, were even conferred by Frederic the Third, and by Maximilian the First, from the plenitude of their Imperial authority, without the consent of the states of those countries so granted; and the validity of such donations was not called in question. [q]

Honors and dignities.

The Emperor was regarded as the legitimate source of all nobility; and his right to confer every title without exception, admitted of no dispute: even the papal see, which contested so many of the Imperial pretensions, acquiesced in this claim [r]. Such a prerogative seemed to elevate him far above all other monarchs. Frederic the Third had entered into a negotiation with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in 1473, the object of which, on the part of the latter prince, was to obtain his elevation to the rank and title of *King;* but, a dispute which arose between them, prevented its accomplishment [s]. We have seen a Corsican revolutionary Despot or Emperor, in our own time, after extinguishing the name, title, and existence of

[p] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 529—531.
[q] Ibid. p. 531, 532.
[r] Ibid. p. 539.
[s] Heiss, vol. i. p. 321.

the

the German Cæsars, salute as *Kings*, and compel to assume that rank, various of the Electors or dukes of the Germanic body. Almost all the dukedoms thro'out the German empire, as well as those of Savoy, Modena, Mantua, Luxemburg, and many others, were created by the emperors, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries [t]. Numberless inferior prerogatives appertained to, and were exerted by them. The right of imposing duties or tolls, of coining money, of granting permission to hold markets, exercising justice, and exemption from foreign courts of judicature; these, and many more vested in the chief of the empire [u]. He possessed likewise, in his quality of "defender and protector of the "Christian church," an undefined and extensive supremacy over all ecclesiastical property, and over the ecclesiastics themselves [x]. But, it was in the ceremonial accompanying public acts of state, that the Imperial office and dignity appeared to be peculiarly pre-eminent, and to eclipse all other royalty. In 1562, at the election of Maximilian to the title of King of the Romans, the Elector of Brandenburg, as great chamberlain, presented him the golden bason and napkin: the Elector of Saxony, as master of the horse, brought in a silver bushel, filled with oats; and the Elector Palatine, in virtue of his office, as lord steward, went to the kitchen, took thence two silver dishes, and

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Inferior privileges.

Ceremonial.

[t] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 539.
[u] Ibid. p. 540, 541.
[x] Ibid. vol. vi. chap. xlvi.

served

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served them at the Imperial table. An opinion that the Emperor was superior in rank to all other monarchs, and that he represented the Roman *Cæsars*, prevailed thro'out Europe: the idea, which was nourished by the vanity of the German nation, gave rise to the most unlimited pretensions, on various occasions. [y]

Powers of the Hungarian kings.

If the real and solid advantages of this high office were so small, those which Maximilian derived from his Hungarian title and dominions, could scarcely be considered as more valuable. He possessed in fact only a very limited portion of that extensive kingdom, comprising the northern provinces which lye below the Carpathian mountains; bounded towards Transylvania, by the river Teisse, the Tibiscus of the Romans, on whose banks Prince Eugene defeated the Turks, early in the last century, with such prodigious slaughter [z]. Buda, the capital, together with the southern part of Hungary, and all Sclavonia, as well as Croatia, belonged to the Ottoman Sultans. Sigeth and Giula, two considerable cities which had recently fallen into the hands of Selim the Second, were retained by him at the truce of 1566, concluded between Austria and the Porte. [a]

John Sigismund Zapoli, Prince of Transylvania, who had so long contested for the sovereignty of that province, dying in 1571; the states, or

[y] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 542.

[z] Busbequius. Leg. Turc. Epistolæ, Lug. Batavor. 1633, p. 17 and 19.

[a] Sacy, vol. ii. p. 51—55.

rather

rather the people, had elected in his place, a nobleman of valor, activity, and capacity, by name Stephen Bathori, who might be considered as equally dependant on the German and the Turkish emperors. Even the part of Hungary which Maximilian retained, perpetually desolated by the Ottoman incursions, was depopulated and held by a precarious tenure [b]. It appears from the account or report which he presented to the Diet at Ratisbon, a short time before his decease, that the annual expence incurred by the garrisons maintained on the Ottoman frontier, amounted to near one million, seven hundred thousand Florins [c]. His power likewise as king, scarcely exceeded the prerogatives entrusted to the Polish monarchs; while on the other hand, the Hungarian Magnates or grandees possessed an absolute and almost unlimited authority over their vassals, which it was dangerous to attack, or even to oppose. The people, equally destitute of energy, as of means to resist, remained in a state of abject subjection, superstition, and ignorance. Even the vast armies, raised by the joint contributions of the Emperor and empire, notwithstanding their apparent strength, manifested in the field every symptom of weakness: the officers were perpetually employed in preventing, or extinguishing the dissensions, inevitable among sol-

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Vast expences of maintaining garrisons.

Nature of the armies.

[b] Sacy, vol. ii. p. 57—60. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 318. Busbeq. Epistolæ, Legat. Turc. p. 19—21.

[c] About one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 370, 371, and p. 380, 381.

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diers of different manners, religions, and nations. The Bohemians and Hungarians, sprung from Sclavonian origin, treated the Germans with contempt, as deficient in bravery; while the quiet and passive valor of the latter troops, disdained the impetuous fury by which their more barbarous comrades were distinguished, as only proper for incursions, inroads, and skirmishes. This want of harmony in the Imperial camps, which formed an insurmountable impediment to the operations of war, gave a great advantage to the enemy. [d]

Hereditary dominions of Maximilian.

It was from his Bohemian and Austrian dominions, strictly so denominated, that Maximilian derived his principal consideration, strength, and resources. Even of these last mentioned territories, the bequest of Ferdinand the First his father, diminished a considerable portion. By his last will, arrogating or assuming the right, he left to his second son, Ferdinand, the County of Tyrol, Alsace, the Brisgaw, and his scattered possessions situate in the circle of Swabia. To the third, the Archduke Charles, he gave the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola[e]. These immense defalcations left Maximilian a very limited tract of country, and the collateral branches were not totally reunited under one head, till the reign of the Emperor Leopold, in 1665, near a century later. After the termination of the sixteenth century, we find scarcely

[d] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 541—543.
[e] Ibid. vol. viii. p. 271. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 232—234.

any

any instance among the Germans, in which independant fiefs or territories were granted by sovereigns, to younger children. The right of primogeniture, together with the obvious advantages of keeping the succession undivided, prevented those pernicious proofs of paternal affection, and reduced the younger sons to a strict dependance on the chief of the family. The kingdom of Bohemia, it must however be remembered, at the period under our review, comprised as dependancies, the provinces of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia; the first and the last of which have since been dissevered from that crown; the former being united to Prussia, the latter to Saxony. In 1574, when Bohemia, with these important territorial additions, was joined to Upper and Lower Austria, they formed a compact and powerful state. Maximilian's authority was not however by any means arbitrary, even among this part of his subjects. The representatives of all the provinces were convoked, whenever supplies were wanted; and their formal consent to every imposition became requisite, before taxes could be levied on the people. We find that in 1566, a period of the most pressing exigency, when on the arrival of Selim the Second in the camp before Sigeth, a vigorous and active campaign was expected, which demanded instant preparations; the Emperor could not impose the slightest contribution, till he had assembled the States, and obtained their approbation. [f]

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Limited power of the sovereign.

[f] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 314.

In

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In the list of the European powers, Maximilian the Second, if divested of the consideration annexed to the Imperial title and prerogatives, could scarcely be regarded as occupying the third rank. Spain and France were each, far superior: Philip the Second alone had at his disposal greater resources, than all the other combined sovereigns of Europe. Even England and Portugal in 1574, enjoyed on many occasions, a superior national consequence, while they possessed a much more extended commerce. The revenues of Bohemia and Austria were by no means ample; and those countries, tho' occupying a large geographical space, were destitute of a single maritime port. Trieste and Fiume, towns situate upon the Adriatic, were included in the dominions of Charles, Duke of Styria. The mines of Schwatz, in the County of Tyrol, produced annually, on an average, silver to the amount of near two millions of Florins; but, the expences of working them were considerable, and they belonged to Ferdinand, the brother of Maximilian. [g]

Revenues.

State of religion and ecclesiastics.

The firm adherence of the Austrian princes to the Catholic religion, and to the Romish see, prevented the doctrines or followers of Luther, from ever attaining beyond a very limited point of power, in the territories subject to their controul; but, the united authority, Imperial and Papal, could not contain the clergy within the bounds of celibacy. All the letters of Ferdinand the First, addressed to Pius the Fourth,

[g] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 545, 546.

attest

attest in the strongest terms the impracticability of restraining priests, and even monks, from marrying, or from living in avowed commerce with concubines. Hence arose the pressing, tho' ineffectual entreaties of that prince, to the Pope, to permit the clergy to contract marriages. Tho' the pontiffs would never relax on this point, it became nevertheless, indispensable to connive at the unions so formed, and to allow them to be considered as legitimate; since otherwise, the people in many districts, must have been totally deprived of ecclesiastics, to officiate in the Catholic churches [h]. By an inquest taken of the convents in Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, in 1563, it appeared that in one hundred and twenty-two monasteries, containing four hundred and thirty-six monks, and one hundred and sixty-eight nuns; there existed no less a proportion than one hundred and ninety-nine concubines, fifty-five married women, and four hundred and forty-three children. [i]

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This evil, resulting from the genius and prohibitions of the Catholic religion, or perhaps more properly to speak, from the policy of the Romish pontiffs, was in some measure connected with another defect by which Austria and Bohemia were characterised; the want of proper seminaries of education for youth. Universities, it is true, were established at Prague, and at Vienna: but, so deficient were they in

State of letters.

Seminaries of learning.

[h] Schmidt, vol. viii. chap. xvii. and p. 256—262.
[i] Ibid. vol. viii. 1.182. Note.

pro-

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professors of learning or of merit, that the nobility became reduced to the necessity of sending their children to other places of instruction. The university of Wittemberg in Saxony, under the auspices of Luther and his followers, had risen to a high degree of celebrity; and notwithstanding the injunctions issued by the Austrian government, with a view to prevent any of their subjects from repairing thither, that city was generally preferred to every other in Germany. Neither the fine arts, nor the sciences, had made any great progress in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, at this period. Even the German language, peculiarly as spoken at Vienna, was rude, unharmonious, and little cultivated by men of letters. The elegant epistles of the Baron de Busbeck, commonly called Busbequius, which contain so much information on the Turkish court, capital, and manners, were written not in German, but in Latin. He was the embassador of Ferdinand the First, to Sultan Soliman the Second; as he was at a subsequent period of his life, the minister of the Emperor Rodolph the Second, to Henry the Third, King of France. His letters or dispatches during both these diplomatic missions, whether considered as political, historical, or literary compositions, are models of good sense and talent. They contain an infinity of curious matter, anecdotes, reflexions, and details of the most instructive nature. Busbequius, who was by birth a Fleming, died in France, as he was on his

his return to Vienna, in 1592, at the age of seventy. We cannot sufficiently regret that Germany at that period, should have produced so few men who can challenge any comparison with Busbequius.[1]

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Vienna began to be considered under Ferdinand the First, and Maximilian the Second, as the ordinary residence or capital of the German emperors; though they frequently transferred their court to Prague, in order to conciliate the affections of their Bohemian subjects, or to inspect personally the condition of that kingdom. Ferdinand procured from the States, convoked in 1547, a declaration that the crown was hereditary, and not elective. Perhaps, the most glorious testimony to the virtues of a sovereign, as well as to the felicity of a people under a wise and vigilant administration, contained in history, is the attestation given by the embassadors of Bohemia, to the Polish nation, in favour of Maximilian the Second, when he became a candidate for the crown of Poland, after the flight of Henry of Valois in 1574 from Cracow. It ought to be engraven over the thrones of princes, as the highest excitement to similar exertions of beneficence, and as the greatest recompence in the power of man to bestow on virtue. In perusing the expressions of the affectionate gratitude of the Bohemians, we are penetrated with respect and pleasure; while we seem to behold a legislator, such as Pythagoras, or Solon,

Testimony of the Bohemian embassadors, to Maximilian's wisdom and beneficence.

[1] Dict. Hist. vol. ii. Art. Busbeq.

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are depictured by antiquity, occupied only in dispensing happiness, extinguishing discord, and reviving the primitive simplicity of the early ages of the world[k]. It excites a melancholy regret, to reflect that the reign of so excellent a sovereign as Maximilian, was limited to the transitory period of twelve years; while Philip the Second, the scourge of his own subjects and of Europe, occupied the throne, during more than forty. The Romans might with equal reason have lamented, that the tyranny of Tiberius lasted above twenty years, when the benign administration of Titus scarcely exceeded as many months.

[k] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 388, 389.

CHAP. XIV.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

View of the German empire. — History of Saxony, from the commencement of the sixteenth century, to the year 1574. — Dominions, revenues, and forces of the Saxon Electors, at that period. — Progress of Letters. — State of the Electorate of Brandenburg. — Gradual and progressive Elevation of the Prussian monarchy. — History of the Palatinate. — Cultivation of letters by the Electors Palatine. — Survey of the German empire in the sixteenth century. — Bavaria. — Cleves. — Brunswick. — Mecklenburg. — Hesse. — Wirtemberg. — Number, and state of the free Imperial cities. — General review of Germany in 1574. — Introduction of knowledge. — Characteristic virtues and vices of the Germans. — Troops. — Landsquenets. — Arms. — Taxes. — Manners. — Commerce. — State of the Hanseatic league. — Effects of the religious effervescence, caused by the reformation of Luther. — Letters. — Arts. — Manufactures. — Jurisprudence.

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General form of the Germanic body, in the sixteenth century.

THE Germanic body, at the period of which we are treating, had already in a great measure assumed the political form, which it continued to retain down to the commencement of the present century. During more than four hundred years, the electors, seven in number, had arrogated and exercised the undisputed right of choosing the emperors; an exclusive

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pretension which had been sanctioned by the famous *Constitution* of Charles the Fourth, published in 1356, known in history by the name of "the Golden Bull." Every prerogative of royalty was annexed to the Electoral dignity; and they preceded, if not in power and extent of dominion, at least in rank and eminence, all the other princes of the empire [a]. Three were ecclesiastical and elective; namely, the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves. The vote of the King of Bohemia in the Electoral college, was exercised by the family of Austria, as occupying the throne of that country: the remaining Electors were those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatine of the Rhine.

1500—1525. Saxony.

The history of Saxony, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, becomes so much blended with the reign of Charles the Fifth, and his two successors, Ferdinand and Maximilian, as to be inseparable from them in all its great features. Frederic, justly surnamed the Wise, who reigned over Saxony from the year 1500, declined, as contemporary historians assert, the acceptance of the Imperial crown, offered him by his colleagues, after the death of Maximilian the First. He had seen, during the reigns of that Emperor, and his father Frederic the Third, how little consequence or power so eminent a dignity conferred, unless supported by ample patrimonial revenues; and how many expensive, or painful duties the office imposed. Conscious

Frederic the Wise.

[a] Heiss, vol. ii. p. 50, 51.

how

how unequal were his own limited dominions, to the pressure of so vast a weight, he therefore exhorted the other Electors to make choice of the young King of Spain, Charles of Austria; who as possessor of such ample territories in Germany, the Low Countries, and Italy, could becomingly sustain the majesty of the first office in the Christian world[b]. The memorable example of Charles the Seventh of Bavaria, in the last century, who was raised by the intrigues of the French cabinet in 1741, to the same eminence, and who became the victim of his own ambition; may enable us fully to appreciate as well as to admire the wisdom of Frederic, in disdaining and rejecting the Imperial sceptre. Under his protection, towards the termination of his life, Luther first ventured to promulgate those religious doctrines, which produced so rapid and surprizing a revolution thro'out Europe. This protection appears, nevertheless, to have originated more in the Elector's opinion of Luther's capacity and utility, considered in the capacity of a theological professor in the university of Wittemberg, which literary seminary he had recently founded; than from any thorough conviction, or zealous adherence to the tenets of the Reformation[c]. Frederic dying in 1525, his brother John, who succeeded him, embraced openly the Protestant faith; of his attachment to which he gave the

CHAP. XIV. 1500—1525.

[b] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 118. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 190—192. Heiss, vol. i. p. 340.

[c] Schmidt, vol. vi. p 232—234.

CHAP. XIV. 1525—1548.

best proof, by presenting in his own name, and in that of many other German princes, the celebrated exposition, distinguished by the title of "the Confession of Augsburg." It was received by Charles the Fifth, during the Diet convoked in 1530, at that city. [d]

John Frederic.

The unfortunate John Frederic, who by his father's decease became soon afterwards Elector of Saxony, from the period of his accession, was regarded as the head of the Protestant interest in the German empire. His religious zeal induced him to join the "League of Smalcald," formed for the protection of the reformed religion, to which act he fell a sacrifice. Abandoned by his associates, betrayed by his ministers, attacked by his own relations, and selected for an exemplary chastisement by Charles the Fifth, whom he had individually irritated and offended; he was finally vanquished at the battle of Muhlberg, fought on the banks of the Elbe.

Transfer of the electoral dignity to Maurice.

The Emperor, abusing the rights of war, in the person of John Frederic, as he had done at an earlier period of his life, after the victory of Pavia, by the terms which he imposed on Francis the First, while a prisoner at Madrid; and exercising the Imperial prerogative, in violation of his oath, to purposes of oppression; degraded the captive prince, by despoiling him of his Electoral voice and dignity, while he was deprived of almost all his hereditary dominions. These titles and territories Charles conferred on

[d] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 415.

Maurice

Maurice of Saxony, head of a younger branch of the Electoral line; who tho' himself a Protestant, had nevertheless attached himself to the house of Austria, and carried arms against the chief of his own family. The city of Gotha, together with a small part of Thuringia, constituted the portion reserved for the unhappy John Frederic, who was likewise detained a prisoner by the Emperor. In so humiliating a situation, he betrayed the most unshaken magnanimity, and the most zealous adherence to the Protestant religion, for the defence of which he had sacrificed every inferior consideration. It is curious to reflect that his descendants still retain, after more than two hundred and sixty years, the diminished possessions allotted them by the rigor of Charles the Fifth. [c]

CHAP. XIV. 1525—1548.

Acting by virtue of his Imperial authority, in the Diet assembled at Augsburg, during the following year; the Emperor proceeded publickly to perform the investiture of Maurice, who took possession of the dominions and Electoral title of his deposed relation. Charles did not, however, experience from him either the gratitude or the submission, over which he seemed to have acquired a right, in consequence of so many benefits. Maurice, incensed at the Emperor's detention of his father-in-law, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, the associate in arms of John Frederic; and stung by the reproaches of his countrymen, who accused him of having sacrificed his honor, no less than his religion, to the

1548—1553. Investiture of Maurice.

[c] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 167—172. Heiss, vol. i. p. 385—388.

CHAP. XIV. 1548—1553.

gratification of his ambition, determined to redeem his character. After having nearly captured the Emperor himself at Inspruck, and reduced him to fly with precipitation from that city, the new Elector concluded at Passau, an accommodation with Ferdinand, King of the Romans; by the articles of which treaty, the late regulations, civil and ecclesiastical, solemnly published by Charles the Fifth, were rescinded and annulled. Liberty of conscience in the most extended degree, was granted to the Protestants thro'out the empire, while the Landgrave at the same time obtained his freedom.

Death of Maurice.

Maurice did not long survive a transaction which covered him with so much personal glory, and which had rendered him the successful defender of the Germanic rights, civil as well as religious, nearly extinguished under the despotism of the Imperial power. He perished at the early age of thirty-two, in the battle of Sievershausen, gained over Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, a prince who had desolated Germany by his ravages and depredations[f]. His premature death, which took place during the moment of victory, in the very act of expelling the enemy and invader of the repose of his country; when added to his talents, his valor, and successful attainment of the objects of his ambition; — this combination of qualities and circumstances, have rendered him peculiarly illus-

[f] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 174—179. Heiss, vol. i. p. 399—404. Annales de l'Empire, p. 441—456.

trious

trious in the German annals of the sixteenth eentury. As he left no male issue, his brother, Augustus, succeeded to the Electoral title and dominions, notwithstanding the fruitless reclamations of the deposed John Frederic, who vainly attempted to recover his forfeited patrimony. Augustus, supported by the friendship of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, maintained himself in his new possession; received the investiture of Saxony from Maximilian the Second; and transmitted those acquisitions to his posterity, by whom, notwithstanding the awful convulsions which have recently agitated Germany, they are still enjoyed at the present time[g]. Destitute of the shining and active qualifications of his predecessor, Augustus claims nevertheless high esteem as a sovereign. Warmly attached to the purity of the Lutheran doctrines, he ardently exerted himself to prevent, or to suppress the differences of religious opinion among the Protestants, which unfortunately began to manifest themselves, and to divide the party. Magnificent in his court, but œconomical in his distribution of the public treasure, he excited equal affection and respect thro'out the empire. Augustus continued to reign in 1574.[h]

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1553—1574. Accession of Augustus.

The dominions subject to the Electors of Saxony at the period under our review, were not so extensive as at present; the Marquisate of Lusatia, a fief of the Bohemian crown, having been

1574. Dominions of the Electors of Saxony.

[g] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 417. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 33.
[h] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 417. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 208.

ceded

CHAP. XIV. 1574. ceded by the Emperor Ferdinand the Second in 1635, to John George the First, at the treaty of Prague[i]. The territories possessed by Frederic the Wise, and the antient Electoral house, only comprehended the part of Saxony denominated "the Electoral Circle;" together with a portion of Thuringia, of which Wittemberg then formed the capital, and the ducal residence. The Margraviate of Misnia, which had been dissevered, became re-united by the elevation of Maurice, to whom the province antecedently belonged. Dresden, situate in this division of Saxony, began to be regarded as the metropolis of the electorate under Augustus, towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century; and its happy position on the Elbe, in a fertile country, soon contributed to its augmentation and embellishment[k]. The Electorate of Saxony might be esteemed the most favored part of the German empire, in soil, productions, and population; watered thro'out its whole extent by the Elbe, and abounding in natural advantages. John Frederic, during the progress of the war which terminated so fatally for his family, evinced the resources of which he was possessed. His troops did not fall short of twenty-six thousand; a prodigious body of forces at that period of time: when defeated at Muhlberg, he had fifteen thousand native Saxons under his immediate command[l]. His revenues, which were very

Military forces.

Revenues.

[i] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 330.

[k] Heiss, vol. ii. p. 254. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 191, and p. 314; and vol. vii. p. 239, 240, and p. 266, 267, and p. 274, 275.

[l] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 169.

ample, became augmented under Maurice and Augustus. The silver mines of Schneeberg in Misnia, proved the most profitable of any in Germany. In the year 1477, near a century earlier than the time under our survey, Albert, Duke of Saxony, was publickly served at dinner, on a block of silver, at Schneeberg, of so prodigious a size, that from it were extracted four hundred quintals of that metal[m]. This species of barbarous splendor, more Mexican than European, reminds us of Montezuma or Atabalipa. The produce of the Saxon mines in the sixteenth century, continued to be still very large, and formed a considerable article of the public revenue.

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No university in the empire enjoyed so high a reputation, or attracted to it so great a number of students as Wittemberg. The celebrity of Luther, and the emancipation which he had introduced in many branches of letters, as well as in religion, conduced to give it an advantage over the Catholic seminaries of education. Luther himself, after having acted so distinguished a part on the theatre of the world, and diminished the papal influence thro'out a vast part of Europe; was fortunately removed by death from being a witness to the subversion of the family under whom he had propagated his doctrines, from whom he had always derived security and protection. He expired at Isleben, in the County of Mansfeldt, the place of his nativity; and his body was interred at Wittemberg, with

Universities.

Letters.

Luther.

[m] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 515.

extra-

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extraordinary solemnity. Charles the Fifth, after his victory at Muhlberg, having visited the church in which were deposited Luther's ashes, was exhorted by some of his attendants, to order the tomb to be broken open. Philip the Second, his son, would assuredly have followed the advice, and have caused the reformer's bones to be treated with every species of indignity. But success had not sufficiently corrupted Charles's natural character and disposition, to render him capable of listening to the suggestion. "It is with the living, and not "with the dead," said he, "that I wage war: "let him repose in peace; he has already met "his judge[n]." The magnanimous moderation of this conduct, in an age when the sanctity of the Sepulchre afforded no asylum from bigotry and animosity, excite surprize; and may justify the opinion, that Charles, however necessitated from his situation to oppose the progress of Lutheranism, did not altogether condemn the principles of the reformer himself.

State of Brandenburg, in the sixteenth century. 1415—1571.

THE Prussian monarchy, which occupied so respectable a place down to the year 1806, among the great powers of Europe, was only in its infancy during the sixteenth century; and in the

[n] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 276.

con-

contracted territories of the Margraves of Brandenburg, it seemed not easy to foresee the future elevation of that family. Frederic of Hohenzollern, Burgrave, or Governor of Nuremburg in Franconia, having purchased the Marquisate from the Emperor Sigismund, of the house of Luxembourg, for the sum of four hundred thousand Ducats, about the year 1415; transmitted it, together with the Electoral dignity, to his descendants[o]. Joachim the First, who died in 1535, a prince of activity and merit, zealously attached to the Catholic church, manifested an anxiety for its maintenance thro'out his dominions. But, under his son and successor, Joachim the Second, the Lutheran religion became adopted thro'out the Electorate. This change in his faith, does not however appear to have influenced his political conduct, as he remained unshaken in his adherence to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, during the troubles occasioned by the "League of Smalcald," and refused to enter into the confederacy of Protestant princes; though after the conclusion of the war, he exerted every effort, in conjunction with Maurice, the new Elector of Saxony, to procure the enlargement of the Landgrave of Hesse. Previous to his decease, he obtained in 1569, from Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, last sovereign of the Dynasty of Jagellon, the right of succession to the dominions of Albert Frederic of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, on the contingent event

CHAP. XIV. 1415—1571. Electors.

[o] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 525.

of

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1415—1571.

of that prince's death without issue[p]. Joachim the Second, a lover of the arts, pacific, moderate, and an enemy to persecution, was succeeded in 1571, by John George his son.

1574. Territories.

The part of Germany, subject to the Electors of Brandenburg at this period, in itself neither extensive, fertile, nor commercial, was limited to the sterile tract of country, denominated "the old, middle, and new March." Even the latter of these small districts had been dismembered from the others, in consequence of the right exercised by sovereign princes in that age, of bequeathing a portion of their dominions to their younger sons; and only became re-united by John George, soon after his accession, at the death of his uncle without male issue[q]. The soil was in general sandy and barren, the population thin, and the state of industry languid. Stettin, and the mouths of the Oder, together with the tract of coast extending along the southern shore of the Baltic, almost to the banks of the Vistula, belonged to the Dukes of Pomerania; the Margraves of Brandenburg not possessing any territories which confined on that sea. Their possessions were among the least favored by nature, of any in the German empire; nor did Berlin, which place was already become the capital, contain any object of curiosity or of magnificence. The sciences, which penetrated slowly, were little cultivated, notwithstanding

Letters.

[p] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 321 and 332. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 529.

[q] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 530.

the

the foundation of a university at Frankfort on the Oder, by Joachim the First, as early as 1506[r]. His son, when he embraced the Reformation of Luther, obtained some augmentation of power and territory, by the seizure and secularization of all the bishopricks in his dominions; among which, those of Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Lebus, constituted the chief[s]: but it was not till the seventeenth century, that the grandeur of his descendants began to manifest itself. Their progress has been one of the most rapid and extraordinary, recorded in modern annals. John Sigismund, after the extinction of the Dukes of Cleves, which took place in 1609, seized on a portion of their ample inheritance, comprehending the duchy of Cleves properly so denominated, together with the Counties of La Mark and Ravensperg, which were ultimately adjudged to, and retained by his family[t]. In 1618, he succeeded to the extensive duchy of Prussia, become vacant by the demise of Albert Frederic, his father-in-law[u]. This important acquisition, by giving him a line of coast, harbours, and rivers, extending from the borders of Courland, nearly to the mouth of the Vistula, rendered him one of the most powerful princes of the North. But, the local intervention of Polish Prussia between his Electoral and his ducal dominions, thus completely separating

Gradual formation and augmentation of the Prussian monarchy.

Acquisition of Prussia.

[r] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 529. [s] Idem, ibid.

[t] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 249. L'Art de Verif. p. 530. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 266, 267.

[u] Heiss, vol. ii. p. 268, 269. L'Art. de Verif. vol. iii. p. 530, 531.

them

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them from each other, left the Margraves of Brandenburg open to perpetual attack, both from Sweden and from Poland; either of which powers possessed the facility of invading and overrunning almost at their pleasure, the isolated duchy of Prussia. The treaty of Westphalia in 1648, conferred on Frederic William, commonly denominated in history the "Great Elector," the eventual succession to the archbishoprick of Magdeburg; while it gave him the actual possession of the bishopricks of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, together with the province of Eastern Pomerania[x]. In 1657 he liberated his duchy of Prussia, from its feudal vassalage to the Republic of Poland; and before his decease he obtained from the Emperor Leopold the First, the little Circle of Schwibus.[y]

Frederic William.

Frederic the First.

Frederic the First, his successor, procured from the Imperial court, in the year 1700, his elevation to the royal dignity, together with the prerogatives annexed to a crowned head, by the title of *King* of Prussia; a title which was successively recognized by all the European powers. This act, though it probably originated as much in personal vanity, as from profound ambition, yet has aided in no small degree by its consequences, the other causes of the greatness of the family of Brandenburg[z]. The County of Tecklenburg, and subsequently, the principality of Neuchatel in Switzerland, devolved to the

[x] Annales de l'Empire, p. 542. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 357.
[y] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 531, 532.
[z] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 465, 466.

new

new monarch in 1707, as composing part of the patrimony of William the Third, King of England, and Prince of Orange[a]. His son, Frederic William the First, added the Duchy of Upper Guelderland to his dominions, at the peace of Utrecht in 1714. By virtue of the treaty of Stockholm, concluded in 1720, he retained Stettin, which he had conquered from the crown of Sweden; together with the division of Swedish Pomerania comprised between the rivers Oder and Pene, previously gained from Charles the Twelfth[b]. In 1731, the principality of Mœurs, the County of Lingen, and several other lordships situate in the Austrian Brabant, were adjudged to him, in right of his descent from Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange.[c]

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1574. Frederic William the First.

But, all preceding acquisitions were obscured in the magnitude of those, made by Frederic the Second, surnamed the Great. The extensive and fertile province of Silesia, with the exception of two small districts, Troppau and Jagerndorf; together with the county of Glatz, forming a part of the kingdom of Bohemia; were reduced to his obedience in 1741, and secured by a peace made with Austria, in the following year[d]. In 1744, on the decease of Charles, last prince of East Friesland, his troops took possession of that country without molestation, by virtue of a donation made to his family in 1694, from the Emperor Leopold[e]. The partition of Poland in 1772, by rendering him master of the rich and

Frederic the Great.

[a] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 533. [b] Idem, ibid. [c] Ibid. p. 534.
[d] Ibid. p. 535. [e] Ibid. p. 535.

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extensive tract of country lying on both sides of the Vistula, from the gates of Dantzic, to the walls of Thorn, together with the bishoprick of Ermeland; enabled him to effect the invaluable object, of joining his Electoral dominions to the duchy of Prussia; thus forming an uninterrupted line along the southern shore of the Baltic, from the frontiers of Samogitia, quite to those of Mecklenburg and Swedish Pomerania. Under the reign of Frederic William the Second, the two Franconian Margraviates of Bareith and Anspach, which had been separated from the Marquisate of Brandenburg for near two centuries, were again united to it, by the voluntary cession or abdication of the reigning prince. A second partition of the unfortunate Republic of Poland, if possible, more iniquitous and more subversive of all justice than the first had been; augmented Frederic William's dominions by the addition of Dantzic, Thorn, and the rich provinces of Posnania and Cujavia. Warsaw itself, together with a great surrounding territory, became lastly swallowed up in the Prussian monarchy. So uninterrupted a series of acquisitions, made during a period, when the powers of Europe were constantly occupied in endeavours to prevent any state from acquiring a political preponderance, or from greatly enlarging its possessions at the expence of its neighbours; may be esteemed not one of the least singular events, by which modern times have been distinguished. From this point of elevation, we have recently beheld Prussia crushed, dismembered, and reduced

Frederic William the Second.

Reflexions on these events.

duced by Bonaparte, in the course of a single campaign, to a state of depression and vassalage not less wonderful than her preceding greatness: holding out to mankind one of the most awful, as well as impressive lessons, which Providence has exhibited to the nations of the world, since the fatal era of the French revolution.

CHAP. XIV. 1574.

THE Electors Palatine of the Rhine might be justly regarded, during the whole course of the sixteenth century, as more powerful princes than those of Brandenburg. The *lower* Palatine, of which Heidelberg was then the capital, formed a considerable tract of country, situate on the banks of the Rhine and the Neckar, in a fertile, beautiful, and commercial part of Germany. Its local vicinity to the frontiers of France and of Flanders, compelled the Electors to feel an interest, and frequently to take an active share, in the disturbances of those states. The *upper* Palatinate, a detached and distant province situated between Bohemia, Franconia, and Bavaria, which constituted a part of the Electoral dominions, added greatly to their political weight, as members of the Germanic body. Frederic the First, Elector Palatine, who died in 1476, was a martial and enterprizing prince, under whom the institution of disciplined troops, regularly trained to war, and retained under the standard after its conclusion, was first introduced

1450—1517. State of the Palatinate in the sixteenth century.

Electors.

CHAP. XIV. 1450—1517.

into the empire. Previous to his reign, armies were only composed of vassals or peasants, assembled on an emergency, and immediately afterwards disbanded. The Emperor Maximilian the First imitated the example set by Frederic in this particular[f]. Two princes of the Palatine family, both of whose names were likewise Frederic, distinguished themselves gloriously in the succeeding century, at the memorable siege of Vienna in 1529, by Solyman the Second. While one of them attacked the Turkish army encamped before the walls of the city, the other gallantly and successfully defended the place.[g]

Introduction of the Reformation. 1518.

Under Louis the Fifth, Luther began to disseminate his doctrines at Heidelberg, which were eagerly and generally imbibed; the moderate character of the Elector, by a felicity rare in that age, permitting the utmost freedom of religious opinion, though he continued, himself, to profess the Catholic faith. His successors, who withdrew from the Romish see, openly declared their adherence to Lutheranism; but, on the accession of Frederic the Third, a new ecclesiastical revolution took place. He was the first among the Protestant German princes, who introduced and professed the reformed religion, denominated Calvinism. As the toleration accorded by the "Peace of religion," to those who embraced the "Confession of Augsburg,"

1530—1559.

[f] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 325. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 57.
[g] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 145. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 325.

did

did not in a strict and legal sense, extend to, or include the followers of Calvin, Frederic might have been proscribed, and put to the Ban of the empire: nor did he owe his escape so much to the lenity or friendship of the Lutherans, as to the mild generosity of Maximilian the Second, who then filled the Imperial throne, and who was an enemy to every species of persecution. [h] CHAP. XIV. 1530—1559.

Frederic the Third, animated with zeal for the support of the Protestant cause, took an active part in the wars which desolated the kingdom of France under Charles the Ninth; protected all the French exiles who fled to his court or dominions; and twice sent succours, under the command of his son John Casimir, to Louis, Prince of Condé, then in arms, at the head of the Hugonots. Not content with these unequivocal proofs of his disposition, he reserved the most mortifying treatment for the arrival of Henry, Duke of Anjou. That young prince, newly elected to the crown of Poland, having accepted the Elector's invitation to pass through Heidelberg, in his way from Paris to Cracow, was received by him with every mark of indignant resentment; entertained in a hall, on the walls of which was depictured the massacre of St. Bartholemew; and served by French refugees during the repast. Frederic even carried his vengeance so far, as to declaim with animation against the authors of that atrocious act, 1559—1572. Frederic the Third. His reception of the King of Poland. 1573.

[h] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 294—300.

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1573. act, and to lament the fate of Coligni. We scarcely know how to condemn a conduct, which although it might be regarded as a violation of the laws of hospitality, yet expressed the generous abhorrence, excited by the recent recollection of a massacre unexampled in the history of mankind, and in which Henry bore a distinguised personal share.[i]

1574. University of Heidelberg. The Palatinate was not only one of the richest, but, one of the most improved and polished parts of the empire: the university of Heidelberg, founded towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, and which formed the first institution of that kind known in Germany, produced many illustrious persons[k]. The Electors Palatine peculiarly distinguished themselves as the protectors of letters; and so early as the year 1421, Louis the Third bequeathed to the university, his library. An enumeration of the literary works which it contained, may serve to convey no inaccurate idea of the state of knowledge, and the progress of the human mind, before the discovery of printing had more widely disseminated information. The volumes, in number only one hundred and fifty-two, consisted entirely of manuscripts; and many of them were already written, not on parchment, but upon paper, which article was then procured from Venice. Of these productions, eighty-nine were theological treatises; forty-five were

[i] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 112. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 28.
[k] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 324.

upon

upon medicine; seven, on the canon law; five, on the civil law: six, upon astronomy and philosophy: not one, upon history. Such was the nature or genius of the studies, then prosecuted and held in estimation among the Germans. [1]

CHAP. XIV. 1574.

Palatine library.

Otho Henry, during his short reign of only three years, began the celebrated collection of books and manuscripts, known by the name of "the Palatine Library;" which was greatly augmented by his successors. The most valuable part of it was sent by the Duke of Bavaria, in 1621, as a present to Gregory the Fifteenth, who then filled the papal chair, after the sack of Heidelberg, and the expulsion of the unfortunate Elector, Frederic the Fifth, son-in-law to James the First, King of England, from his capital and dominions. Œcolampadius, Melancthon, Bucer, and many of the most eminent reformers, studied at the university of Heidelberg, which attained to a high reputation at the commencement of the sixteenth century [m]. The persecutions of Philip the Second in the Netherlands, operated favorably on the population of the Palatinate; as the civil wars under Charles the Ninth of France had done, nearly at the same period. Frederic the Third received the expatriated Protestants; and having dissolved the monastery of Frankendal, he founded there a city, which being immediately

[1] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 520, 521.
[m] Le Art. de Verif. vol. iii. p. 326, 327.

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peopled with Flemings, soon became one of the most considerable in his territories. [n]

1574. Rude magnificence of the Electors.

Heidelberg, the capital and residence of the Electors Palatine in the sixteenth century, displayed a rude magnificence, of which the present age can scarcely form an adequate conception. Frederic the Third kept a tame lion in his palace, which mingled among the domestics, entered the chamber of the Electress, and daily received his food at her feet. The motive for taming and retaining such an animal, which was not less singular than the fact itself, arose only from the Elector having immemorially worn on his shield, the figure of a lion, as his armorial bearing. This prince continued to reign at the period under our consideration. [o]

State of the human mind in Germany, at the time of Luther's appearance.

So disposed were the minds of men towards religious innovation, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and so weary was mankind become of the pecuniary exactions of the Romish church; that in less than fifty years after the appearance of Luther, the greater portion of Germany had withdrawn itself from their obedience to the Holy See. The example, exhibited by the three secular Electors, was followed by the inferior princes, nobility, and

[n] Heiss, vol. ii. p. 282, 283.
[o] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 324.

almost

almost all the free, imperial cities. On the other hand, the bishops and dignified ecclesiastics in general, who adhered to the antient faith, formed a powerful phalanx, ranged under the papal and imperial banners. The famous clause, inserted by Ferdinand the First, into the Constitutions of the Diet of Augsburg in 1555, denominated "the Ecclesiastical Reservation;" preserving the property of the Catholic church from further dilapidation, formed a bulwark impregnable by all the efforts of the Protestants [p]. The bonds of religious union, which had been originally so strong between the members of that communion, were likewise exceedingly weakened by the introduction of the doctrines of Calvin, Zuinglius, and other reformers, who either openly rejected the "Confession of Augsburg," or explained its expressions in a manner favorable to their own opinions. Notwithstanding these obstacles or dissensions, the princes and states who had embraced the reformation before the middle of the sixteenth century, far outweighed in political power and resources, as well as exceeded in numbers, those who remained firm in their original persuasion. At the head of the Catholics, almost alone, if we except the Imperial family, stood the Dukes of Bavaria and Cleves. The Protestants were masters of the remainder of the empire. The Dukes of Brunswic, Mecklenburg, and Wirtemberg; the Landgrave of

Progress of the Reformation.

[p] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 181, 182.

Hesse,

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Hesse, and a croud of petty princes had embraced the Lutheran, or the Calvinist doctrines. [q]

Bavaria.

The Dukes of Bavaria, and the Electors Palatine, sprung from a common origin, about the middle of the thirteenth century. The former princes, at the period under our review, possessed a very considerable tract of country, extending from the southern bank of the Danube, to the Alps which divide Bavaria from the Tyrol; though they had not then acquired either the Electoral dignity, or the *upper* Palatinate, to both of which they subsequently attained under the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, during the course of hostilities denominated in history, "the war of thirty years." Bavaria, whether from the vigilance of its sovereigns, or from the disposition of the people, inclined to superstition, and averse to novelty; formed the part of Germany in which the Lutheran opinions had met with the least favorable reception. William the First, who zealously adhered to the antient religion, entered into the "Catholic league," at Nuremberg, in 1538. His son, Albert the Third, who acceded in 1550, was regarded as one of the firmest supports of the Romish faith and see. His connexion with the house of Austria, by his marriage with the Arch-duchess Anne, daughter of Ferdinand the First, attached him by political ties to the Imperial family, and strengthened

[q] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 2—4.

his

his other motives for opposing the progress of the Reformation.[r] CHAP. XIV.

William, Duke of Cleves and Juliers, makes a conspicuous figure in the history of the German empire, under the reign of Charles the Fifth. Incensed at the Emperor's refusal to desist from his pretensions to the duchy of Guelderland, William entered into the closest bonds of political friendship with Francis the First; and having joined his own forces to those of the French monarch, he attacked and routed the Imperial troops. But, his prosperity proved of short duration. Compelled to demand forgiveness at the feet of Charles, and to cede the province of Guelderland, which he had disputed; his pardon was sealed by the renunciation of Jane d'Albret, daughter of Henry, King of Navarre, niece of Francis, to whom he had been betrothed; and finally cemented by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Ferdinand, King of the Romans. The remainder of his reign was passed in cultivating the arts of peace; and his adherence to the Catholic religion, untinctured with zeal or bigotry, left a free entrance among his subjects, to the new opinions, which were favored by the vicinity of Holland and the Palatinate.[s] 1539—1574. Cleves.

The dominions of the family of Brunswic, which had been divided early in the fifteenth century, among the princes of that house, formed two independant states; namely those 1514—1574. Brunswic.

[r] L'Art. de Verif. vol iii. p. 406. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 2—4.
[s] Ibid. p. 186, 187. Schmidt, ibid. p. 3.

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of Wolfenbuttel, and of Lunenburg. Ernest the First, head of the younger branch, having imbibed the precepts of Luther at the university of Wittemberg, while there engaged in prosecuting his studies; became one of the most zealous proselytes of the new doctrines, which spread rapidly among his subjects. But, in the duchy of Brunswic Wolfenbuttel, the Catholic faith, supported by Henry, sovereign of the country, made a long and vigorous resistance. He was a turbulent and martial prince, equally an enemy to his own repose, and to the tranquillity of Germany. His attempts to reduce by force of arms, and to punish the cities of Brunswic, and of Goslar, which enjoyed very extensive immunities approaching to political independance, drew upon him the resentment of "the League of Smalcald." After having been driven out of his dominions, by that powerful confederacy; on his return with a body of French troops, he was routed, taken prisoner, and confined by the Landgrave of Hesse, in the fortress of Ziegenhain. In consequence of the victory of Muhlberg, and the humiliation of the Protestant party, the Duke being again released, was reinstated by Charles the Fifth, in his dignity. At the memorable battle of Sievershausen, to which allusion has already been made, gained by Maurice, Elector of Saxony, over Albert of Brandenburg, in which action Maurice perished; Henry, who was there present, lost his two eldest sons. This act formed his last exertion of military prowess;

Reign of Henry.

prowess; and before his decease he renounced the Catholic religion, of which, during fifty years he had been the ardent defender. His son and successor, Julius, who had embraced Lutheranism previous to his father's renunciation, not only confirmed its progress, but withdrew his people from any subjection to the church of Rome.[t] CHAP. XIV. 1514—1574.

Mecklenburg.

The extensive country of Mecklenburg, extending from the frontiers of Holstein and the Elbe, to the borders of Pomerania, and the vicinity of the Oder, along the southern shore of the Baltic, comprehending the cities of Wismar and of Rostock; was, like Brunswic, divided in the sixteenth century, between two princes of the same house, in nearly equal portions: they were denominated from their respective capitals, Schwerin, and Gustrow. Similar, too, in another point of view, to Brunswic, the Protestant doctrines, which had been received and adopted by the Duke of Schwerin as early as 1530, did not become the predominant religion of Gustrow, till after the year 1547.[u]

1509—1574. Hesse Cassel.

Reign of Philip.

There is no character more distinguished on the theatre of Germany, from the accession, down to the abdication of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, than that of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. His history becomes necessarily interwoven with all the important transactions of the period, in the greater part of which

[t] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 431, 432. Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 136—139, and 205—207. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 166.

[u] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 491, 492.

he

CHAP. XIV. 1509—1574.

he bore an eminent share. An early convert to Lutheranism, his arms and counsels were steadily employed in maintaining the faith which he had espoused: but, he found it impossible to reconcile Luther himself with Zuinglius, on the article of the Eucharist; and after three days passed in fruitless conferences at Marburg, a town of Hesse, the two reformers separated, without coming to an agreement upon any point of doctrine. Philip, who adhered invariably to the "Confession of Augsburg," joined his forces to those of John Frederic, the unfortunate Elector of Saxony, when in 1546, they ventured to oppose the Emperor in the field. Terrified with the fate of his associate and ally, he hastened to implore the pardon of his temerity: but Charles, tho' he did not use equal rigor towards the Landgrave, detained him nevertheless a prisoner. Indebted for his freedom, to the successful and vigorous attack made by Maurice, the new Elector of Saxony; after five years of severe captivity, he once more revisited his dominions. But we search in vain during the remainder of his life, for the vigor and decision which had characterized him previous to the war of Smalcald. Rendered cautious even to timidity by his misfortunes, Philip renounced any active interference in the quarrels of religion, as far as they related to Germany; tho' he ventured to send assistance to the Hugonots, at the commencement of the civil wars in France. His son, William the Fourth, inherited the talents, as well

His detention by Charles the Fifth.

well as the adherence to Lutheranism, which distinguished Philip; and no part of the empire was more wisely governed, or enjoyed more profound tranquillity, than the Landgraviate of Hesse, under his pacific administration. [x]

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1498—1519. Wirtemberg.

The Dukes of Wirtemberg might be considered as the last of the great German princes of the second order. Their territories, situated in the circle of Suabia, between the Palatinate and Bavaria, were not only extensive and populous; but inferior to none in fertility, and in variety of productions. Ulric the Sixth, after having been expelled from his dominions, for an infraction of the public peace of the empire, which he had imprudently and rashly committed, by attempting, as was too common in that age, to avenge his private quarrels with an armed force; saw his duchy ravaged, and afterwards sold by the conquerors, to the Emperor, Charles the Fifth. That monarch bestowed it on Ferdinand, King of the Romans, his own brother: while Ulric, an exile and a fugitive, wandered during fourteen years, without asylum or protection. The generous and active friendship of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, aided by the pecuniary assistance of Francis the First, having at length re-established him, in the following year he introduced the Reformation into Wirtemberg. [y]

Reign of Ulric the Sixth. 1520.

1534.

[x] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 170, and p. 177. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 373—375. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 316.

[y] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 122, and p. 152, 153. L'Art de Verifier, vol. iii. p. 390, 391. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 332.

Involved

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1535—1550. Involved in the calamities under which the "League of Smalcald" became oppressed, Ulric was reduced to submit to the conditions imposed by Charles; and his death which took place soon afterwards, scarcely prevented the forfeiture of his duchy, reclaimed by Ferdinand, King of the Romans, as reverting to him in consequence of the crime of rebellion. It required the wisdom and moderation of his successor, Christopher, to obliterate the misfortunes which the imprudence of Ulric had produced. The parent and protector of his subjects, Christopher's reign of eighteen years, formed an æra of repose and felicity, unknown in the annals of Wirtemberg. With the approbation of the States, the Duke composed and published a code of laws, framed on a basis of enlarged equity; calculated to extinguish the feuds arising necessarily from the barbarous and contradictory jurisprudence, previously in use. Every beneficial institution, designed for introducing police, regulating commercial transactions, and diffusing civilization among his people, was adopted by Christopher. His adherence to Lutheranism was not embittered by the spirit of intolerance; and his active benevolence rendered him equally respected by the Catholics, as by those of his own persuasion. Under his benign administration, the duchy, which had been so long ravaged and desolated, became the most opulent and prosperous part of Germany.

1550—1574. Christopher.

Felicity of his reign.

Germany. He was succeeded by Louis the Third, his son. [y]

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1574.

The free Imperial cities formed a very important, as well as interesting part of the Germanic empire and constitution. They appear to have been first admitted to send representatives to the Diets, towards the conclusion of the thirteenth century [z]. Under Maximilian the Second, they exceeded seventy in number; most of which, with the single exception of Lubeck on the Baltic, were situated in the Circle of Suabia, or along the Banks of the Rhine [a]. In commerce and in riches, as well as in improvement, they were superior to the cities subject to the sovereigns by whom they were surrounded; and they exercised every act of independance or of jurisdiction within themselves. In all the general contributions enacted by the Diets, for the defence of the empire, they were loaded with an unjust proportion of the assessment: but the emperors, who derived from their assistance the greatest support, protected them against every attempt of the Electors or princes, to reduce them to subjection [b]. Among the great Imperial cities of the first order, Cologne was the only place in which the Catholic religion maintained its antient ascendancy. Lubeck, which enjoyed a vast proportion of the Baltic trade; as well as Nuremberg, and Stras-

State, commerce, and wealth of the Imperial cities at this period.

[y] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 391, 392.
[z] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 31, 32.
[a] Heiss, vol. ii. p. 90, 91.
[b] Ibid. p. 88, 89. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 74—77.

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burg, were zealous Lutherans. The others, divided between the Romish and Protestant church, admitted the free exercise of both modes of worship, and composed the magistracy or municipal officers, indifferently from persons of the two opposite persuasions.

1574.

1574. Fermentation of the human mind in the sixteenth century.

It was not till towards the conclusion of the fifteenth, and commencement of the sixteenth century, that Germany began to emerge from its political obscurity, and to assume a share in the wars, negotiations, and general concerns of Europe. Every circumstance, at that period, combined to awaken the human mind, to stimulate its exertions, and to inflame its ardor. The invention of the art of printing; the introduction of artillery, and of gunpowder, into all military operations; the formation of standing armies; the innovations in religion; preceded by the still more surprizing revolutions in commerce, consequent on the discoveries of Columbus and of Gama, which transferred the trade of the East, from Egypt and Italy, to Portugal; while they opened a new world beyond the Atlantic, to adventurous enterprize; — these causes, united, and acting with force upon a people previously unacquainted in a great degree with the arts; produced a fermentation, of which, at this distance of time, we can with difficulty form any adequate idea.

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Civil liberty, learning, polite letters, with all the refinements of polished society, began to be understood, and to be cultivated in Germany. The impediments constructed by tyranny, or produced by anarchy, which had hitherto prevented the free intercourse of one nation with another, became gradually removed. The rude and martial exercises of chivalry, insensibly gave place to more gentle recreations. Lances or coats of mail became in fact almost useless, after the practice of fire-arms was established; and the important substitution of infantry, in the place of cavalry, which followed, at once deprived the nobles of one of their most distinguished advantages over the inferior orders, when engaged in war. [d] 1574.

Slow progress of civilization in Germany.

The effect, produced by these changes, on the national manners and character, however great, was notwithstanding, necessarily slow: it was continually retarded by prejudice, and impeded by long established habits, relinquished with difficulty. Even after the middle of the sixteenth century, much of the rude Teutonic originality of the German nation, as well as their characteristic virtues and defects, which survived, strongly discriminated them from every other European people. Their probity, frankness, and loyalty, seem to have been not more universally acknowledged, than were their general rusticity, credulity, and drunkenness: but the former appear to have formed the indelible and

Characteristic virtues and vices.

[d] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 508, and p. 520.

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genuine qualities of the people, while the latter resulted in a great measure, from the state of society, and the want of intellectual cultivation[e]. The beautiful reply of Stephen, Duke of Bavaria, to Galeazzo Visconti, his brother-in-law, Duke of Milan, which cannot be sufficiently admired, strikingly depictures the fidelity and honesty, for which the Germans were renowned. The Italian prince having made to the Bavarian, an ostentatious display of his wealth and magnificence; Stephen calmly observed, that "he "could not, indeed, boast of equal riches; but, "that he had not a subject in his dominions, on "whose breast he could not sleep in safety[f]."

Probity of the Germans.

Charles the Fifth, in his public Manifestos, as well as in his private letters, did not hesitate to assign as an unanswerable reason against the supposed machinations of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, and of the Margrave of Brandenburg, in 1552; that "such was the unimpeached pro-"bity and veracity of the German nation, and "so incapable were they of insincerity or du-"plicity; that he could not believe it possible "for two princes of their origin and extraction, "to engage in a systematic plan of perfidy[g]." Notwithstanding the almost unintermitted dissensions, wars, and private animosities, which desolated the empire, from the death of Frederic the Second, of the Swabian line, in 1250, down to the abdication of Charles the Fifth,

[e] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 493—495.
[f] Idem, ibid.
[g] Ibid, vol. vii. p. 377, 378, and p. 381—383.

in

in 1556; we find in the lapse of more than three centuries, no instance of a conspiracy among the Germans, and only one example of an assassination; namely, that which was committed in the person of the Emperor Albert the First, by his own nephew.[h] CHAP. XIV. 1574.

If these eminent characteristic virtues were universally confessed, the intoxication to which every class of men throughout the empire were addicted, merited not less reprobation. Princes and nobles gratified so degrading a propensity, in an equal degree with the lowest of their subjects. Maximilian the First, who, from having lived principally among foreigners, during the life, as well as after the decease of Mary of Burgundy his wife, had embraced their manners, formed a shining exception to the national character; and he repeatedly attempted to reform his countrymen, not only by exhibiting an example of sobriety in his own person, but, by positive laws and prohibitions. At the Diet of Worms, held in 1495, soon after his accession, it was enjoined that the Electors and princes should severely repress and punish such scandalous irregularities[i]. But, an evil which held so forcibly to general manners, was not to be subdued by legal injunctions, nor even by penalties: in 1572, we find new edicts equally strong, and equally ineffectual, for the discouragement and suppression of this disgraceful vice, issued Drunkenness. Measures for its repression.

[h] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 494. [i] Ibid. p. 495.

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by the Diet of Cologne [k]. In other European countries, the effects of drunkenness, rather than the practice itself, have constituted the object of penal severity.

German soldiery.

The German soldiery in the sixteenth century, began to be esteemed equal to any European troops, if not in scientific skill, yet at least in bravery and steady courage. At the battle of Pavia, they acquired a high reputation, by engaging and breaking the flower of the French army. The characteristic virtues and vices of their country, were, however, still to be traced in the camp. They were not indeed sanguinary, nor cruel; on the contrary they easily granted quarter, and rarely shed unnecessary blood: but they were likewise eager for plunder, severe in their exaction of contributions, and too prone to set fire to the towns or villages which they captured [l]. It is an indisputable fact, that during the famous sack of Rome in 1527, by the troops of the Constable Bourbon, the Germans displayed far more moderation towards the inhabitants of that unfortunate city, than the Spaniards, or even the Italians, their own countrymen. It ought not likewise to be forgotten, that a great proportion of the Germans were imbued with the tenets of Luther; while the two other nations who thus pillaged and desolated the residence of the sovereign pontiff, were composed entirely of zealous Catholics.

Characteristic qualities.

[k] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 496—499.

[l] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 543.

In

In the campaigns against the Turks, the Germans rarely appear to have acquired any renown; but, the causes of their ill success are obvious. The armies led by Charles the Fifth, by Ferdinand and Maximilian, composed of troops drawn from all the different Circles, were animated by no common sentiment of patriotism, discordant in their religion, and hardly united under their respective princes or commanders. The Ottoman soldiery, enthusiastically attached to their faith, and to their sovereigns; who usually, 'till the death of Solyman in 1566, conducted them in person, and shared their dangers, rushed upon death with irresistable ardor. Circumstances so opposite, must necessarily have operated powerfully on the character of the two nations. [m]

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After the accession of Maximilian the First, the troops so celebrated in history under the name of "Landsquenets," began to be known in Europe. They were native Germans, and soon rose to a high degree of military estimation. That Emperor, who had studied the art of war, and who conducted it on principles of Tactics, armed them with long lances; divided them into regiments, composed of ensigns and squads; compelled them to submit to a rigorous discipline; and retained them under their standards, after the conclusion of the wars in which he was engaged. They formed an excellent body of infantry, and did signal execution [n].

Institution of Landsquenets.

[m] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 541—544. [n] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 112, 113.

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But, besides those in the employ of Maximilian, vast numbers entered into foreign service, particularly into that of France. At the sanguinary battle of Marignan in 1515, they even encountered and repulsed the Switzers, who up to that time had been deemed invincible. On their return to their native country, they often became intolerable, from their licentiousness and insolence. Accustomed to subsist by plunder, unused to labor, destitute of clothing, of pay, or of leaders; they committed every sort of outrage on the peasantry, and were regarded as a scourge, by the Germans of that age [o]. Pikes were substituted in the place of their long lances, under Charles the Fifth; and the facility with which the Landsquenets performed their evolutions, gave rise to the formation of a body of cavalry, composed of the same soldiers, and denominated "Reiters." They soon attained to an equal celebrity with the infantry, and were generally found in the French armies, on both sides, during the civil wars. Mortars, Culverines, and other engines of artillery, which were invented by Maximilian the First, having changed the character of war, a new military system was introduced into the empire. [p]

Celebrity of those troops.

Reiters.

Taxes.

The introduction of standing armies, necessarily produced the augmentation and multiplication of taxes thro'out Germany. Before the beginning of the sixteenth century, scarcely any permanent impositions were raised

[o] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 61—64. [p] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 113.

upon

upon the subject; princes subsisting in a great degree on their domain, or on contributions levied for particular purposes, granted for a short time. Despotism, and its inseparable attendant, arbitrary taxation, were unknown. The states, composed of the nobility, and great vassals, were assembled, and their consent obtained, before any tax could be imposed. But, the power of sovereigns, which became gradually augmented, when supported by a body of disciplined troops, eventually extinguished the liberties of the people [q]. Chivalry may be said to have expired with the age of Charles the Fifth, though its genius and spirit are still frequently to be traced to a later period. It seems difficult to believe that at the Diet of Worms, in 1495, a French knight, named Claude Barre, challenged the whole German nation, at single combat; and it appears still more extraordinary, that the Emperor Maximilian himself, quitting his Imperial functions, should condescend to engage a stranger, as the champion of his countrymen. He entered the lists on horseback, fought, and vanquished the Frenchman [r]. When reading this story, we seem to be transported to the times of Tancred, and of Orlando Furioso; or rather, to those of Theseus and of Telemachus. Maximilian the Second, in 1566, charmed with the exploits of Tury, a Hungarian, who had distinguished himself against the Turks, armed him a knight, with his own hands; and

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Decline of chivalry.

[q] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 17, 18. and p. 66, 67.
[r] Ibid. vol. v. p. 486, 487.

this

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this forms one of the last examples of that practice, which we find in modern history. [s]

1574. Buffoons.

No appendage of state, found at this period in the palaces of kings, was more general or indispensable, than buffoons; and they seem to have carried the practice in Germany, to a greater excess than in any other European country. Perhaps, their national phlegm and characteristic gravity, demanded the aid of this factitious mirth. The Diet of Augsburg, in 1500, did not consider the subject as beneath their legislative attention and regulation [t]. Besides the buffoons retained in regular pay and attendance upon all princes, there were numbers of honorary and titular buffoons, who drew a precarious subsistence from their extravagancies or their importunity; nor were they limited to one sex, as women equally practised the vocation. It was not till long after the period of which we are treating, that they fell into disuse, as refinement of manners insensibly substituted more rational sources of hilarity and gaiety. [u]

Commerce.

The commerce of Germany remained at its highest degree of elevation, during the whole of the fifteenth century; but it rapidly declined after the discovery of a passage to India, by the Portugueze. It was not possible to form the same connexions, or to draw the same advantages from Lisbon, as had been done from Venice.

Opulence of the German cities.

[s] Sacy, Hist. D'Hongrie, vol. ii. p. 52.
[t] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 528, 529. [u] Ibid. p. 528, 529.

The

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The letters of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius the Second, who had passed a considerable time, as Legate of the Holy See, among the Germans, when he visited almost every part of the empire; leave no room to doubt of the trade and opulence of many of the great cities. He positively asserts, that "the "kings of Scotland would gladly be lodged, "like the common citizens of Nuremberg in "Franconia[x]." That industrious city divided with Augsburg, the whole commerce of the southern provinces of Germany, as well as of Bohemia, Hungary, and many parts of Poland. The commodities of Italy and of the East, were transmitted by them to the Hanse towns, who supplied with those articles all the countries surrounding the Baltic. The population of the free, imperial cities, bore a proportion to their trade and wealth. Nuremberg, Aix la Chapelle, Strasburg, Lubeck, and many others, possessed prodigious power and resources.[y]

Hanseatic league.

"The Hanseatic League," so renowned in history, was principally composed of cities situated in Germany; though it extended to Poland, France, the Netherlands, and almost all the southern kingdoms of Europe, at an early period of its existence. We cannot contemplate its progress, influence, and exertions, without a degree of admiration. Before the thirteenth century, these enterprizing merchants had esta-

Its commerce.

[x] Æneas Sylv. de Mor. German. cited by Schmidt, vol. v. p. 510.
[y] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 513.

blished

CHAP. XIV. blished warehouses at London, and at Bruges: in 1274, they fixed similar establishments at Novo-
1574. grod Weliki in Muscovy; and four years later, at Bergen in Norway[z]. England and France, which were at that period destitute of manufactures, except those of the first necessity, carried on scarcely any foreign trade. London and Paris were indeed far inferior in every respect, considered as capitals, to the great cities of the Hanseatic League. The former of those kingdoms, England, during the far larger part of the thirteenth century, was involved in civil commotions, and all the train of calamities which they occasion, under the feeble reigns of John or of Henry the Third. Even the benign administration of Louis the Ninth, whom the French have chosen to place among the saints of the Romish calendar, and who then filled the throne of France, produced neither felicity to his subjects, nor advanced the progress of civilization. Those blessings, if sought in the north of Europe, were only to be found within the walls of
Power. the Hanseatic confederated cities. The Kings of Denmark, tho' powerful princes, could not offend, nor insult them with impunity. Waldemar the Third was driven by their forces, from his capital, in 1368. Sixty years later, in 1428, their fleet, consisting of two hundred and fifty vessels, having on board twelve thousand soldiers, again attacked Copenhagen, and ultimately compelled Eric the Tenth, who then

[z] Heiss, vol. ii. p. 391—393. Schmidt, vol. v. p. 512, 513.

occupied

occupied the Danish throne, to accept the terms of peace which they dictated. Lubeck constituted the metropolis or head of the confederacy, to which Cologne, Brunswic, and Dantzic were associated; thus extending from the banks of the Rhine, to the mouth of the Vistula; each of those places having under them, a number of subordinate cities. They held triennial assemblies at Lubeck, in which they regulated not only their commercial concerns; but, concluded treaties with the greatest monarchs and states of Europe [a]. The transfer of trade to Portugal, which took place early in the sixteenth century, gave the first shock to the Hanseatic league; and before the middle of that period, the English penetrated, not only into the Baltic, but round the North Cape, to Archangel. The Dutch succeeding them, commerce found new channels. Yet in 1574, the German cities of the Hanse still continued to carry on a great, though a diminishing trade, and to enjoy high political consideration.

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Decline.

Germany, even before the discovery of printing, and the revival of letters, abounded in universities; but learning was confined to monastic controversies, or limited to the philosophy of Aristotle [b]. In the sixteenth century, tho' the Reformation produced a spirit of enquiry, favorable to the activity and exertions of the human mind; yet it was long directed almost exclusively to polemical subjects, which powerfully affected,

Learning of the Germans.

[a] Heiss, vol. ii. p. 394—397. Schmidt, ibid. p. 514.
[b] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 322.

as

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as well as interested all classes of people. That the Reformation introduced by Luther, proved eventually beneficial to mankind, and productive of the happiest change, even among its enemies and opponents, it is impossible to deny. But, these effects were not immediate; and the bold innovations of Luther, who tore the veil from before the Romish sanctuary, encouraged others to trample on all ecclesiastical authority, or to substitute visionary forms of theocracy, in the place of subordination to their rulers. Tho' that celebrated reformer himself, constantly exhorted to obedience and submission to civil magistrates, princes, and sovereigns; yet, his contemporaries, Muncer in 1525, and some years later, John of Leyden, at the head of the Anabaptists, exhibited the most awful scenes of savage fanaticism, which have been ever acted on the theatre of the world. [c]

1574. Effect of the Reformation.

Insurrections of the peasants.

The recital of the insurrection of the German peasants under Muncer, and their other leaders, excites horror, when we reflect on the multitudes who perished, victims to their misguided enthusiasm. In many places, the soldiers refusing to give quarter, even to those who laid down their arms, all were put indiscriminately to the sword. The Bishop of Wurtzburg in Franconia, after resistance had totally ceased, rode through his territories, accompanied by executioners, and beheaded se-

[c] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 491—510, and p. 276—278. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 133. Annales de l'Empire, p. 404, 405.

veral

veral hundred peasants. The Archbishop of Treves, equally inexorable, killed many of them with his own hand, and encouraged his soldiers to do the same, tho' the insurgents implored mercy[d]. The Emperor Ferdinand the First, in a paper drawn up by himself, annexed to his last will, dated on the 10th of August, 1555, expressly asserts, that "in the insurrection of "Muncer, there perished one hundred and "twelve thousand peasants, in the single pro-"vince of the empire where his troops were "employed." Even from so high and incontestable an authority, we can scarcely credit the fact[e]. The atrocities committed in the city of Munster, in 1534 and 1535, by John of Leyden and Knipperdolling, are well known. All these fanatics, while they decried Luther, yet availed themselves of his maxims; which they perverted, to justify their acts of violence against the Catholic church, and its ministers[f]. In such a disturbed state of society, and of the human mind, learning, the fine arts, and sound philosophy, could not be expected to strike deep root, or to extend widely their influence. Religious antipathy, which alienated men from each other, long impeded the progress of true science, thro'out the empire. The German language itself, harsh and uncultivated, as well as unfixed by any standard, was little favorable to productions of genius. Neither history nor poetry had advanced beyond mediocrity; but Albert Durer

CHAP. XIV.

1574.

Extermination of them.

State of Letters.

[d] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 369, 370. [e] Ibid. vol. viii. p. 267, 268.
[f] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 151—153. Annales de l'Empire, p. 422.

and

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1574.

Painting.

and Holbein carried the art of painting to great perfection. The former, a native of the city of Nuremberg in Franconia, received the most distinguishing marks of protection from the Emperor Maximilian the First. Holbein, a citizen of Basil in Switzerland, experienced a reception not less favorable from our Henry the Eighth, and died at London in 1554, of the plague, under the reign of Mary. Both these eminent artists, tho' laboring under the defects characteristic of their respective countries, Germany and Switzerland, yet attained a reputation scarcely inferior to the Italian painters their contemporaries; if not in grace and delicacy of conception, yet in truth and vigor of execution. We may justly question whether the portraits of Titian, or of Leonardo da Vinci, to whom Charles the Fifth and Francis the First sate, in order to be transmitted to posterity; are more highly esteemed in the nineteenth century, than the portraits of Henry the Eighth by Holbein.

Durer and Holbein.

Art of printing.

The invention of printing, which has so widely diffused knowledge, originated in the west of Germany, which country was far more civilized than the eastern portion of the empire; but the taste and selection to guide its use, long remained wanting. The first work printed by the Germans, in 1457, was an edition of the Psalms of David: during many years subsequent to that period, no books except bibles, and treatises on civil law, or on theology, were published thro'out the empire. The Italians acted

in

in a different manner. That elegant, as well as enlightened people, charmed with the great models of antiquity, began instantly to print the classics; and Cicero's letters were the first work given to the world. No circumstance can more forcibly characterize the genius of the two nations, than this difference of conduct[g]. Venice furnished all the northern kingdoms of Europe with paper, till towards the end of the fifteenth century. It was not before the year 1470, that two Spaniards, from the province of Gallicia, first constructed paper mills in Germany; but, they soon became more numerous.[h]

CHAP. XIV. 1574.

The barbarous jurisprudence of the feudal times, the appeals to the interposition of Heaven, and judicial combats for the decision of criminal or civil causes; — all these institutions had disappeared before the middle of the sixteenth century. The study of the civil and canon law, indispensable in a constitution so intricate and complicated as the confederation of the Germanic body, began to conduct its followers to power, wealth, and consideration. As early as 1459, under Frederic the Third, we find the great lawyers aspiring to equality with the nobles, receiving the honor of knighthood, and possessing considerable landed property in the empire. Gaspard Schlick, son of a citizen of Egra in Bohemia, who became Chancellor to Frederic in 1440, was raised to emi-

Jurisprudence.

Study of the law, becomes honorable.

[g] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 521.

[h] Ibid. p. 522.

CHAP. XIV.

nent civil dignities, and forms one of the first instances recorded of that nature.[1]

1574. Conclusion.

Such was the general state and situation of Germany, about the year 1574; a country which soon afterwards began to assume a principal rank in the great system of Europe; and which, early in the following century, became the theatre of the longest, most obstinate, and general war that has taken place in modern times, anterior to the French Revolution; namely, that commonly denominated "the war "of thirty years," terminated by the treaties of Westphalia in 1648.

[1] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 48—50.

CHAP. XV.

DENMARK.

Review of the Danish history, from the reign of Margaret of Waldemar, to the accession of Christian the Second. — State of the three northern kingdoms, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. — Limited authority of the sovereign. — Revenues. — Forces. — Character, and enterprizes of Christian the Second. — Conquest of Sweden. — Massacre of Stockholm. — Revolt of Gustavus Vasa. — Deposition of Christian. — Reign of Frederic the First. — Invasion, and imprisonment of Christian the Second. — Interregnum. — Election of Christian the Third. — Establishment of the reformed religion. — Reign of Christian the Third. — Accession of Frederic the Second. — War with Sweden. — State of Denmark in the 1574. — Territories. — Commerce of the Hanseatic league. — Reception of the reformed religion. — Colonization of Greenland. — Naval and military forces. — Introduction, and progress of letters. — Tycho Brahé.

CHAP. XV.

1397.

THE early ages of the Danish history are equally deficient in materials for composition, as they are destitute of information. The Runic and Scandinavian annals, whatever amusement their researches may afford the antiquary, contain little matter deserving the attention of the enlightened historian, or the philosopher. During the middle ages, the three kingdoms of

CHAP XV.

1397. Margaret of Waldemar. Union of the crowns of the North.

the North were governed by their separate and respective sovereigns; but, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the celebrated Margaret of Waldemar united in her own person, the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. By the famous legislative act, denominated "the "Union of Calmar," from the Swedish town of that name where it originated, she even succeeded in rendering them hereditary; and after a reign, distinguished by vigor and success, she devolved her vast dominions on her nephew, Eric the Seventh. That able princess, whose masculine talents and capacity for government, acquired her the title of "the Northern Semi-"ramis;" a title which the present age has conferred on another equally illustrious female, Catherine the Second; reigned over the Polar regions, from the lake Ladoga and the confines of Muscovy, to the Orkney islands inclusively; and from Greenland, then colonized by the Norwegians, to the frontiers of Germany[a]. It seems even highly probable, that the union which she effected and cemented by her policy, might have remained indissoluble after her decease, if the incapacity and violence of her immediate successor, had not shaken its foundations. Eric, incapable of pursuing the track which had been pointed out to him by Margaret, incurred the hatred and contempt of his subjects. Expelled from the throne, he retired to the Isle of Goth-

Eric the Seventh.

His expulsion.

[a] Mallet, Histoire de Dannemarc, vol. iv. p. 291—318. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 93. Vertot, Hist. des Revolutions de Suede, p. 31—33.

land

land in the Baltic, where he, who had once swayed the sceptre, long exercised the profession of a pirate. When compelled at length to quit his retreat, he tamely withdrew to the town of Rugenwalde in Pomerania, where he terminated his life in obscurity and indigence.[h] CHAP. XV. 1397.

Notwithstanding this rude assault given to the recent union between the northern kingdoms, Christopher of Bavaria, the successor of Eric, after some delays, was declared sovereign of the three countries: but his reign proved short; and leaving no issue, the Swedes, separating themselves from the Danes and Norwegians, proceeded to the election of a king. The national choice fell on Charles Canutson, a native Swede, who was already invested with the high dignity of Marshal or Constable. The Danes, on the contrary, more attached to the principle of hereditary right, made a voluntary offer of their crown to Adolphus, Duke of Sleswic and Holstein, a prince who was sprung from the blood of their antient monarchs. By an instance of philosophic moderation, or of apathy, rare in the history of mankind, Adolphus declined so flattering a proposal; but he recommended to the Danish Senate, his nephew, Christian, Count of Oldemburg, as worthy of the sceptre which he himself had refused. That prince having been in consequence adopted by the States of Denmark, the example was speedily followed by those of Norway: but the Swedes, tenacious 1439—1448.

Elevation of the family of Oldemburg, to the throne of Denmark.

[h] Mallet, vol. iv. p. 318—322, and p. 416—426.

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1439—1448. of their choice, and alienated by the violence or partiality of the two preceding kings, adhered to their determination; refusing any longer to submit to the regulations enacted at Calmar, which had solemnly declared the indissoluble union of the three crowns.[c]

1448—1513. Christian the First, and John the Second.

It is at this period, with the accession of Christian, that we may date the final separation of Sweden from the two other kingdoms; every subsequent effort made on the part of the Danish sovereigns, to re-unite the three monarchies under one head, having been only attended with temporary and incomplete success. It becomes likewise memorable, as constituting the æra from which Denmark begins to assume a share in the wars, negotiations, and political affairs of Europe[d]. Christian the First, a virtuous and able prince, became the founder of the present reigning house of Oldemburg: he was succeeded by his son, John the Second, their united reigns including a space of more than sixty years. But, the attention of posterity has been almost entirely occupied by Christian the Second, whose character, crimes, and misfortunes, have powerfully attracted consideration. Instead of recording the events, or commemorating the transactions which took place under two sovereigns, whose political conduct, or military expeditions, can excite, at this distance of time, only a feeble interest; it may be more curious, as well as

State of the northern kingdoms, at this period.

[c] Puffendorf's Hist. of Sweden, p. 108—112. Vertot, p. 32—40.
[d] Mallet, vol. v. p. 77—80.

more

more informing, if we endeavour to convey even an inadequate idea of the state of the northern kingdoms, previous to the accession of Christian the Second.

Limited monarchy.

The form of government, immemorially received and adopted by the Scandinavian nations, was monarchy; but, by this term we must understand the monarchical constitution in its most contracted sense. Not only their kings were controuled by the Senate, or by the States, in every act of regal power: they were likewise elective; though the choice being always confined to the reigning family, and following the right of consanguinity, rendered the crown in fact hereditary. Even the prerogatives usually exercised by the most limited sovereigns, were denied to the Danish princes; who, far from possessing the right to impose a tax, however small, without the consent and approbation of the States, could not declare war, form any important enterprize, or confer the government of a fortress, unless the national delegates had been previously consulted [e]. But, if the royal authority was thus rigorously fettered, the power of the nobility was proportionably relaxed and indefinite. They possessed privileges the most incompatible with order, general freedom, and a due submission to the laws; while the inferior classes of the people, destitute of protection, were exposed to every violence and outrage. In the Capitulation, or grant of fran-

Great power and privileges of the nobles.

[e] Mallet, vol. v. p. 18—20.

CHAP. XV. 1448—1513.

chises, tendered to Christian the First by the Danes, on his election in 1448, every possible limit was imposed, which distrust or jealousy could dictate; and still severer restraints were affixed by the Norwegians, when they soon afterwards raised him to the throne of that kingdom[f]. John the Second, in 1483, with the view of conciliating the Swedish nobles, whom he wished to reconcile to his person and government, granted them the right of life and death over their vassals; thus rendering them virtually sovereigns on their own estates[g]. The degree of anarchy, as well as of oppression, which immunities so extensive and uncontrouled, must of necessity produce, may be easily imagined. We have witnesed during our own times, a faithful transcript of the Scandinavian constitution and kings, in the anarchical form of government which existed in Poland, down to the extinction of that unfortunate country as an independant state, towards the conclusion of the last century.

Revenues.

The revenues of the Danish crown were not less scanty, than its authority was limited. In 1453, Christian the First informed the Senate, that the royal domains having been almost entirely alienated by the profusion of his predecessors, the remaining receipts were become inadequate to the necessary expences of government[h]. Towards the conclusion of the same

[f] Mallet, p. 21—31, and p. 95—103.

[g] Ibid. p. 196—201.

[h] Ibid. p. 61, 62.

century,

century, John the Second, during the short period of time in which he occupied the throne of Sweden, as well as those of Denmark and Norway, found the Swedish revenues so diminished by the rapacity of the nobles and clergy, as to become wholly unequal to the payments with which they were loaded. He attempted to remedy the evil, by resuming some of the grants previously made, or extorted from his predecessors; but, it may be naturally conceived, that such a measure must have proved highly unpopular and dangerous. The event speedily manifested its tendency to be such, as it became the immediate cause of his expulsion from Sweden.[1]

CHAP. XV. 1448—1513.

Scarcity of current specie.

The scarcity of Specie thro'out all the northern countries, an inevitable result of the poverty of the people, as well as of the want of industry and manufactures, tended to weaken the royal power still further, while it incapacitated the sovereign for exertions of magnitude. In order to obtain money, scarcely any expedients seem to have been regarded as too degrading, or as unbecoming the majesty of the throne. The crown lands; the dominions, provinces, and islands belonging to the monarchy; the spiritual welfare of the people;—all these were exposed to sale or mortgaged, in order to obtain a precarious, but immediate pecuniary supply. When Fregeno, the papal Legate, entered the territories of Denmark in 1461, in order to tax the credulity and superstition of the inhabitants,

[1] Mallet, vol. v. p. 259, 260.

CHAP. XV. 1448—1513.

bitants, by dispensing indulgencies from the Romish see; Christian the First did not scruple to exact from him eight thousand marks, previous to the exercise of his functions; stipulating likewise for a considerable portion of the plunder, which was to be thus collected from the people[k]. Gold and silver were so rare, that even in the greatest commercial transactions, they appear to have been little used or known[l]. The Hanse towns, particularly the city of Lubeck, engrossed the whole trade of the Baltic, Norway, and Iceland; to which countries they carried salt, wine, and cloth. In return, they received fish, furs, and timber; but money was almost excluded from this commercial intercourse, which could only be strictly denominated a barter.[m]

Trade.

Poverty of the crown.

The most curious and extraordinary proof of the poverty of the Danish kings, occurs under Christian the First. That prince having stipulated to pay the sum of sixty thousand Florins[n] to James the Third, King of Scotland, for the portion of his daughter Margaret, on her marriage; was necessitated to mortgage the Orkney islands to his son-in-law, as a security for the money, which was not to be found in the royal coffers. But, it having been likewise agreed by the terms of the matrimonial treaty, that ten thousand Florins should be deposited, previous to the departure of the new queen from Copen-

[k] Mallet, vol. v. p. 108, 109. [l] Ibid. p. 198.
[m] Ibid. vol. v. p. 186, 197, and p. 330.
[n] About five thousand pounds sterling.

hagen

hagen for Edinburgh, the Scottish commissioners insisted on the immediate execution of the article. It being found however impossible to raise more than a fifth part of so inconsiderable a sum, Christian was again reduced to the humiliating alternative of mortgaging the Shetland islands to James the Third, till he should discharge the remaining eight thousand Florins. We may see here at the same time, the ordinary dowry of a Danish princess, in the fifteenth century; and the relative value of the Orkney, compared with the Shetland Islands, which seems to have been, in the estimation of their common sovereign, as six to one in favor of the former Archipelago. The transaction took place in 1468; and it is no less true, than it must appear incredible, that neither the Orkneys nor the Shetlands, though frequently reclaimed, were ever redeemed by Denmark. They have remained unalterably annexed to the Scottish crown.*

CHAP. XV. 1448—1513.

With revenues and resources so inadequate, it might seem to be a natural inference, that the Danish kings were unable to maintain any considerable naval or military force. Yet, in this respect, by a species of contradiction, they appear to have made greater exertions than could have been expected from them. John the Second, when he marched into Sweden, in order to obtain the crown of that kingdom in 1497, besides his native troops, had formed a body of six thousand

Military forces.

* Mallet, vol. v. p. 133—138.

German

CHAP. XV. 1448—1513.

German mercenaries, who were denominated "the Saxon Guard." They were commanded by a gentleman of Cologne; and their appointments amounted to no less a sum than fifteen thousand Florins a month [p]. The same prince, towards the conclusion of his reign, in 1510, equipped a squadron of thirty vessels, with which force he blocked up for some time, the entrance of the Trave, on which river stands the city of Lubeck [q]. But, it must be remembered that these efforts were rare, short, and ruinous. The maintenance of a disciplined, regular army, however small, would soon have exhausted the royal revenue; and no such permanent establishment was ever attempted during the period under our consideration, by the Kings of Denmark.

Navy.

1513. Accession of Christian the Second.

Such were the limits imposed on the power of the crown, and such the forms of the Danish constitution, at the accession of Christian the Second. He had already nearly attained his thirty-third year, when the death of his father, John the Second, gave a free scope to the exercise of his talents, and to the influence of his vices. In capacity and vigor of mind, he was unquestionably not deficient; and the attention which he manifested towards augmenting the commerce of his people, however interested might be the motives from which it arose, was highly laudable and beneficial. His jealousy of the vast immunities enjoyed by the nobility, and

His character.

[p] About fourteen hundred pounds sterling. Mallet, vol. v. p. 240.
[q] Ibid. p. 331, 332.

his determination to reduce them within more narrow bounds, cannot excite either wonder, or even disapprobation. Louis the Eleventh in France, Henry the Seventh in England, and Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain, had, each, set him the example of systematically endeavouring to undermine and to subvert the exorbitant power of the aristocracy in those kingdoms. He had exhibited proofs of his personal courage and ability in the field, before his father's decease; by whom, at an early period of his life, he had been successfully employed to quell an insurrection that broke out in Norway. But, these qualities and endowments, which, under the guidance of moderation and virtue, might have conduced to place him in the most elevated rank of Danish kings, were obscured by far greater defects. His despotic and tyrannical temper, which scorned the restraints of law, impelled him continually to commit acts of ferocity or of cruelty. Perfidious, and destitute of regard to the most sacred engagements, he violated them without scruple, whenever his resentment or his interests appeared to dictate such a conduct. Incapable of employing generous or gentle means to attain his ends, he substituted terror in their place; and his personal approach was always preceded by executioners or instruments of death. Debased in his pleasures, his society, and his gratifications, he chose the companions of his bed and of his table, from the lowest ranks of life. Similar to Louis the Eleventh of France, in many of the leading features of his character,

CHAP. XV.

1513.

Ferocity, and vices of Christian.

Christian

CHAP. XV.

1513—1517.

Despotism, and cruelty of his administration.

Christian seems to have been his inferior in capacity, dissimulation, and the arts of reigning.[q]

The commencement of his reign was marked by infractions of the constitution, most alarming in their nature. Not content with having obtained from the States, their consent to the imposition of a duty on all commodities imported into the kingdom, during two years; he speedily betrayed his resolution, at once to annihilate the privileges of the nobility, to despoil the church, and to trample on the laws. Arbitrary taxes were imposed by his sole mandate, in violation of his oath, and contrary to the usages immemorially observed in Denmark. Gibbets were erected in the principal towns, to exact submission and obedience. The ecclesiastical lands and establishments were confiscated, almost without a pretext; while a regular system was adopted for the humiliation of the Senate, and depression of the nobles, by their removal from all offices of trust or dignity. Notwithstanding his marriage with Isabella of Austria, sister to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, a princess equally distinguished by her personal beauty, and her intellectual merit, he abandoned himself to his passion for Dyveck, his mistress; who, as well as her mother, assisting at his councils, enjoyed an unlimited influence. These acts of violence and indecorum, were followed by examples of severity

[q] Lagerbring. Hist. de Suede, p. 44, 45. Vertot, p. 53, 54. Mallet, vol. v. p. 354—359.

and

and cruelty. Senators, gentlemen, and prelates, were imprisoned and put to death, either without cause, or without trial; the liberties of the Danish and Norwegian nobility, so highly respected under the preceding reigns, imposing no obstacle to the tyranny of Christian.[r] CHAP. XV. 1513—1517.

Encouraged by the submission which he had hitherto found in Denmark, and animated with the same desire to accomplish the reduction of Sweden to his dominion, which had impelled his two immediate predecessors, he prepared to assert his title by force of arms. Embarking on board a fleet of near one hundred and twenty sail, he appeared off Stockholm; but, his troops being repulsed under the walls of the capital, he found himself obliged to retreat on board his ships. In this situation, he demanded a conference with the Swedish commander, and even offered to repair in person to Stockholm for the purpose, if hostages were given for his safety. But, no sooner had he obtained six of the principal nobility, than, forgetful of his honor and his recent engagements, he immediately set sail for Copenhagen, with the captives; who being distributed in various castles, were guarded with extreme precaution. Among the number was included the celebrated Gustavus Vasa, then in early youth, destined to avenge his own wrongs, and the misfortunes of his country, at a future period. He was committed to the custody of Eric Banner, a Danish nobleman, who detained 1517, 1518. He invades Sweden. Returns to Copenhagen.

[r] Puffendorf, p. 158—160. Mallet, vol. v. p. 365—372, and p. 377—384.

him

CHAP. XV.

him in honorable confinement, at the town of Calloe in Jutland.[s]

1519, 1520. Second invasion of Sweden.

Exasperated, rather than humbled, by the ill success of his first attempt, Christian made the greatest exertions to repair his misfortune. Having assembled an army and a fleet, he sent the former, with directions to penetrate through the interior provinces to Stockholm, while he waited the return of summer, to follow in person with a naval force. On this occasion, Francis the First, in compliance with the treaty which bound him to the Danish King, tho' the brother-in-law of Charles the Fifth his enemy, detached to Christian's assistance, a body of two thousand infantry; and the French, for the first time, appeared as auxiliaries in the quarrels of the north[t]. The arms of Christian were attended with complete success. The Administrator of Sweden, to whom the defence of the country was entrusted, being mortally wounded, left the kingdom defenceless, while the enemy advanced rapidly to the capital: and though the valor of Christina, his widow, protracted the destiny of Stockholm, which city she long maintained against the utmost disparity of numbers and strength, she was at length reluctantly compelled by the inhabitants to capitulate with the invader. Yet in this extremity, they exacted from the Danish prince, the solemn confirmation of all their privileges; and Christian,

Surrender of Stockholm.

[s] Vertot, p. 76—80. Mallet, vol. v. p. 393—402. Puffendorf, p. 160—163.

[t] Mallet, vol. v. p. 405—410. Vertot, p. 98.

anxious

anxious at any price to atchieve the object of his expedition, not only promised them a complete amnesty and oblivion of every past offence; but, consented to accept the Swedish crown with the same severe limitations and restraints on the exercise of its functions, which had always been annexed to it under his predecessors. On these conditions he was admitted into the city, acknowledged as the legitimate sovereign, and received the submissions of his new subjects. [u]

CHAP. XV. 1519, 1520.

1520. Violence of Christian's measures.

But, the Swedes were not long in discovering that no engagements, however sacred, can influence or restrain, where virtue and humanity are become extinct. Scarcely had Christian taken possession of the capital, than he violated his recent oaths; demanded the crown, not as conferred by the free election of the States, but as his hereditary and incontestable right; and adding insult to injury, he declared at his coronation, that he owed to his own arms, not to the choice or inclination of the people, the kingdom which he had thus acquired. Conscious at the same time, of the difficulty of retaining in subjection a martial and high-spirited nobility; apprehensive that his departure from Stockholm, would form the signal for a general revolt; and impelled by the ferocity of his disposition, which delighted in blood; he conceived the atrocious design of putting indiscriminately to death, all such among the higher

[u] Puffendorf, p. 162—166. Vertot, p. 89—106.

CHAP. XV.

1520. Massacre of Stockholm.

ranks, as either had opposed, or might in future impede his arbitrary measures. He was not only confirmed in this resolution, by the members of his council, men selected from the vilest classes of society; but Trolle, Archbishop of Upsal, the first ecclesiastic in Sweden, either gained by the King's promises, or terrified by his menaces, consented to act a conspicuous part in the massacre of his own countrymen. Under pretences too absurd or senseless, to impose on the credulity of the most ignorant and prejudiced, Christian, after having caused the gates of the capital to be shut, seized, and immediately delivered over to the executioners, the leading members of the Senate. Two bishops, the principal nobles, and the magistrates of Stockholm, habited in the robes of their office, being conducted under a guard from the citadel, were immediately beheaded.

Circumstances attending it.

By a refinement in barbarity, suited to his savage temper, all spiritual aid or consolation was denied them, and even some of the spectators, who had ventured to express their horror and indignation, were involved in the carnage. Ninety-four persons, of whom the far greater number were of the most elevated rank, fell victims to the inhuman orders of Christian. Eric Vasa, father to Gustavus, who soon afterwards ascended the throne, was included in the list. Their bodies, denied even the right of sepulture, remained long exposed to the view of the inhabitants of Stockholm; but, the apprehension that

such a spectacle, whatever terror or consternation it had at first impressed, might ultimately irritate the people, and produce some act of desperation, induced the King to order them to be reduced to ashes. The reigns of Nero or of Caracalla, may furnish instances of equal enormity: but, few similar scenes of deliberate cruelty have been exhibited in the modern history of Europe, previous to the French Revolution; and the abhorrence excited in the present instance, is not diminished by any circumstance which can palliate its atrocity. The guilt of rebellion could not be ascribed to the Swedes, who having voluntarily elevated Christian to the throne, enjoyed an equal claim to protection with his other subjects; and, steeled as that prince appears to have been thro'out his whole reign, to the emotions of penitence or remorse, he was so sensible of the flagitious nature of the massacre, that he endeavoured to throw the odium of it on his counsellors and advisers. Not satisfied with the blood which he had shed in the capital, his return to Denmark, through the provinces of Sweden, was marked by new proofs of implacable cruelty: incredible as it may appear, above six hundred persons of every rank and order, perished by his immediate command. [x]

CHAP. XV.

1520.

Return of Christian to Denmark.

Happily for mankind, crimes so vast and multiplied, did not long remain unpunished.

1521.

[x] Vertot, p. 124—133. Puffendorf, p. 166—170. Mallet, vol. v. p. 433—457. Lagerbring, p. 45—47. Champigny, Hist. Abregé de Suede, p. 1—4.

CHAP. XV. 1521.

Previous to the reception of Christian into Stockholm, Gustavus Vasa had escaped from his confinement in Jutland; and having been admitted into Lubeck, the inhabitants of that city, irritated at the restraints which the King of Denmark had imposed on their commerce, rather than indignant at his excesses, not only protected Gustavus, but facilitated his return to his native country. Nature had endowed him with all the qualities eminently calculated for struggling with adversity, and for surmounting difficulties. Eloquent, affable, intrepid, liberal, he obtained an almost unbounded ascendant over his followers; and he employed it to emancipate them from despotism. Pursued by the hatred and vengeance of Christian, who dreaded his courage no less than his ability, he was repeatedly on the point of being seized and put to death: nor did he elude the search made for him, except by retiring to the sequestered province of Dalecarlia, there assuming the disguise of a peasant, and concealing himself in the mines. The oppression of his country, aggravated by the execution of his father, and the proscription of his family, stimulated him to resistance, while it animated his exertions. He succeeded in gaining adherents; and after vanquishing obstacles insuperable to ordinary men, he ventured openly to raise the standard of revolt, and to attack the Danish governors. Repeatedly overcome, he rose superior to defeat, found resources in his own courage, and ultimately attained the highest object of human ambition;

Appearance of Gustavus Vasa.

His revolt.

ambition; that of not only liberating Sweden from foreign oppression, but, of receiving from the gratitude of his countrymen, the crown of which he had deprived a tyrant.[y] CHAP. XV. 1521.

While Gustavus was occupied in effecting so glorious and salutary a revolution, Christian completed the measure of his vices and crimes. Conducting himself by the same despotic or sanguinary maxims, with which he had commenced his reign, he proceeded to annihilate the functions of the Danish Senate, and to invade the most important privileges of the nobility. Destitute of attachment either to the Catholic, or to the Protestant faith, his rapacity and his continual necessities prompted him to seize on the revenues of the clergy, who might otherwise have sustained him against the other orders of the State. Selecting his ministers from the meanest ranks, and vesting them with unlimited power; he abandoned them without scruple or regret, to the most ignominious punishments, whenever his policy, or his interests, demanded such a sacrifice. The first symptoms of defection and rebellion manifested themselves in the province of Jutland; where the nobility and bishops having assembled, framed a Manifesto, in which they declared Christian to have forfeited his right to their obedience, and explained their reasons for proceeding to his deposition. They at the same time offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic,

1522. Insurrection of the Danes.

Deposition of Christian.

[y] Vertot, p. 106—114. Puffendorf, p. 170—173. Mallet, vol. v. p. 471—496.

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Duke of Holstein, and sent a deputation to acquaint him with their choice. [z]

1523. Reflexions on that event.

Whatever detestation the general conduct of Christian the Second justly excites, and however unpitied was his fate, the truth of history demands that he should not be calumniated, or oppressed by unmerited censure. It forms not one of the least singular instances of the caprice, or the fatality, which frequently seem to regulate the destiny of men, that this prince, who with impunity had violated every principle of good faith and of humanity in his treatment of the Swedes; was deprived of his crown in Denmark, for an act, which, however it might infringe on the rights of the nobility, was not only justifiable, but even highly meritorious. Thro'out his whole reign, he had systematically endeavoured to emancipate the inferior classes of the people, more especially the peasants, from the feudal tyranny of their lords: he had even issued an edict, prohibiting the sale of vassals, as being equally subversive of the principles of morality, justice, and religion [a]. Regulations of such a nature, which struck at the root of the aristocratic influence and authority, however beneficial they might prove, were in themselves unpopular: but, the immediate cause of the revolt which precipitated him from the throne, was a measure, that abstractedly considered, ought to have secured him universal esteem, while it conciliated the suffrages of all mankind.

Causes of it.

[z] Mallet, vol. v. p. 496—528. Vertot, tome ii. p. 16, 17.
[a] Ibid. vol. v. p. 514.

The

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1523.

Feudal tyranny, and abuses of the age.

The peninsula of Jutland, the "Chersonesus Cimbrica" of antiquity, which forms an essential part of the Danish dominions, is situated between a portion of the Baltic, and the German Ocean, almost surrounded by those two seas. In consequence of a practice sanctioned by prescription, which, to the dishonor of human nature, has not been confined to any European country; and from the imputation of which, we are ourselves in this island, by no means exempt; the bishops and nobility of Jutland were accustomed to derive a considerable annual revenue, from the shipwrecks, frequent on that low, as well as dangerous coast. It can hardly be credited, that this barbarous usage was carried to such a pitch of indecency and inhumanity, that bishops, unrestrained by the sanctity of their sacerdotal office, sent armed bodies of men, frequently to the number of three hundred, who plundered the vessels driven on shore; deterring by menaces or violence, the miserable survivors, from saving any part of their property[b]. Against so detestable a privilege, if such it could be justly termed, Christian published a severe prohibition; the tenor and nature of which, might have done honor to the most humane or enlightened sovereign. But, the insurrection which neither his tyranny, nor his cruelty had excited, was instantly produced by his laudable attempt to check a custom, from which a powerful and numerous class of his subjects derived advantage; and though he en-

The insurgents invite Frederic, Duke of Holstein.

[b] Mallet, vol. v. p. 518—523.

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deavoured to conciliate their affections, by promising every reparation for the injuries which they might have received, these concessions were made too late. The insurgents persisted in their resolution, and prepared to maintain it by force of arms.

Frederic, Duke of Holstein, whom they had invited to accept the crown of Denmark, did not hesitate to signify his gratitude, and his readiness to meet their wishes; while Christian, doubtful of the fidelity of those who seemed still apparently attached to him, retreated to Copenhagen. In that capital, he might still however have made a long resistance. The fertile province of Scania, from which he could have drawn supplies of provisions, was devoted to him; and Norway remained unshaken in its allegiance. But, equally destitute of fortitude or resources in adversity, as he had been devoid of moderation and justice in the career of his fortune; pursued by the consciousness of his past enormities, and distrustful of his own subjects; he did not venture to abide the decision of war, or to risk his personal safety by making a longer stay in Denmark. Having hastily equipped a squadron of ships, and embarked on board of them his family, the Regalia of the crown, together with his most precious effects, he set sail from Zealand. Previous to his departure, he committed the city and citadel of Copenhagen to the care of two officers, in whose devotion he confided; having promised them to return in a short time, with ample succours of every

Flight of Christian.

every kind. These assurances could not, however, prevent the universal defection which followed his flight; and he himself, assailed by storms, scarcely escaped shipwreck on the coast of Norway. Landing at length in Holland, he hastened to Antwerp, there to implore the protection and assistance of his brother-in-law, Charles the Fifth: but he found that prince slow in avenging his cause; and a long time elapsed before Christian could assemble a force, equal to attempting the reduction of his dominions.[c]

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He was the last sovereign who united in his person, the three kingdoms of the North. Gustavus Vasa, animated with new courage by the intelligence of his flight from Denmark, aided by the fleet of Lubeck, and impelled by the prospect of attaining a crown, as the just reward of his services; finally succeeded in expelling the Danish garrisons. Calmar fell into his hands, and the surrender of Stockholm completed his reduction of Sweden. Not less vigilant in peace, than he had proved himself intrepid in the field; his active and penetrating genius enabled him to foresee, as well as to provide against those internal machinations, or external attacks, to which every new establishment is peculiarly exposed. Conscious that Christian the Second, if he ever should re-ascend the throne of Denmark, would not limit his pretensions to the possession of that crown alone;

Final separation of the northern crowns.

Frederic the First.

[c] Vertot, tome ii. p. 17, 18. Mallet, vol. v. p. 523—551. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 96, 97.

Gus-

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1523. Gustavus united himself with Frederic against their common enemy, and redoubled his precautions to impede the entrance of the exiled King into any of the provinces, which had constituted his antient dominions. [d]

1524—1530. Reign of that prince. While Gustavus thus confirmed himself in Sweden, Frederic the First, not without considerable difficulty, rendered himself master of Zealand. Copenhagen, the capital of that island, and of the kingdom, ventured even to sustain a siege; nor did the place capitulate, until all hopes of support or assistance from Christian, were become extinct. This fact may warrant us in assuming, that had that prince, instead of pusillanimously abandoning his adherents, and carrying off his treasures, courageously supported the contest against his subjects, he might have maintained himself on the throne. It is evident that he possessed many devoted partizans in Norway, where, far from being odious, he enjoyed on the contrary great popularity. In Scania likewise, the people were well affected towards him. His defect of courage and want of decision, far more than the abhorrence excited by his atrocities, produced his expulsion from Denmark. The irresolution and feeble conduct of Richard the Second among us, had in like manner caused his deposition in 1399, rather than his mal-administration. Louis the Eleventh, and Henry the Eighth, two of the most tyrannical sovereigns commemorated in history, were

Reflections on Christian's flight.

[d] Lagerbring, p. 48—50. Puffendorf, 173—178. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 27—38.

not

not deposed. The greatest of all vices in a prince, as well as the most destructive to himself, is want of firmness in the hour of danger. James the Second's abandonment of his crown, Christian's flight and consequent ruin, Louis the Sixteenth's miserable execution, form the best commentary on this observation. The Norwegians, too feeble to assert their right of electing a sovereign, independant of Denmark; and accustomed to receive implicitly the prince whom their more wealthy, or more powerful neighbours raised to the throne, acquiesced in the choice of the Duke of Holstein; and notwithstanding some efforts in favor of the deposed monarch, which took place in the province of Scania, universal tranquillity was speedily restored. [c]

Frederic, in succeeding to the dignity and title of his predecessor, by no means however enjoyed or exercised the same extensive authority. The clergy and nobility, by whom almost exclusively Christian the Second was expelled, conferred the sceptre on his successor, under very severe limitations; previously exacting the entire restoration of all those dangerous privileges, which the vigor, or the despotism of the late reign, had extinguished. A prince of a more elevated mind, and greater resources of character, would probably have resisted, or resumed a concession, equally injurious to the royal prerogatives, as to the freedom and felicity of the people: but Frederic, already de-

[c] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 14—21.

clining

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1524—1530. His pacific character, and government.

clining in years, pacific in his temper, and satisfied with the possession of a crown to which his birth had given him no pretension; yielded with facility to the demands of the Danish nobles[f]. Continually alarmed with the apprehension of an invasion on the part of his nephew, who ceased not to solicit the powerful aid of the house of Austria, for his re-establishment; holding his Danish and Norwegian kingdoms by the right of election only; and unable even to obtain from his new subjects, the acknowledgment of his eldest son as his successor in the throne; he scarcely seemed to regard himself as more than a nominal sovereign. Instead of making Copenhagen the seat of government, Frederic usually held his court and residence in his patrimonial provinces of Holstein.[g]

1531. Invasion of Norway, by Christian the Second.

The political tempest which he had so long dreaded, prepared at length to burst in all its force. Christian, after near nine years of exile and disgrace, having succeeded in raising a military force, embarked from the ports of Holland; favored by Mary, Queen of Hungary, his sister-in-law, Governess of the Low Countries under the Emperor Charles the Fifth. His vessels were scattered by a storm, before he entered the Baltic; but, having gained the coast of Norway, he landed at the town of Opslo, where he instantly summoned the clergy, as well as the nobility and principal magistrates, to return to their allegiance. That kingdom, which had

[f] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 8—14. [g] Ibid. p. 67—69, and p. 124.

rather

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1531.

rather followed, than participated in the revolt of Denmark, obeyed with alacrity; and the southern provinces were reduced to the obedience of their antient master, without an effort. If Christian, profiting of his advantages, had availed himself of the advanced season of the year, which rendered it almost impracticable to send supplies of any kind by sea to Norway, from Copenhagen; he might have unquestionably maintained himself against all the forces of Frederic, and perhaps have opened a way to his eventual restoration. But, here again we trace the same indecisive and timid line of conduct, which had driven him from Denmark. An ill-timed and injudicious relaxation in his operations, proved destructive to his hopes of success. Over-reached and deceived by the Governor of the city of Aggerhus; surrounded by the combined forces of Gustavus Vasa, and of his rival; abandoned by the Norwegians; no other alternative remained, than to surrender himself to the Danish commissioners, on the faith of an equivocal and doubtful treaty, subsequently disavowed by Frederic. That prince did not even deign to admit the fallen monarch to his presence, or to listen to his remonstrances. Christian, reserved for a punishment more severe than death, was conducted to the castle of Sonderburg, situate in the island of Alsen, on the coast of Sleswic; confined in a chamber, the door of which was closed up; and allowed no companion except a dwarf, to alleviate the protracted horrors of solitude,

Imprisonment of Christian.

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solitude, aggravated by captivity[h]. In that imprisonment he terminated his life. His reign and misfortunes offer an ample field for reflection: nor can we help admiring the singularity of his destiny, while we behold him with impunity sacrificing the Swedish nobility to his revenge; and expelled shortly afterwards from his native dominions, for attempting the most humane and meritorious reform.

1531.

1533, 1534. Death of Frederic the First. Interregnum

Frederic did not long survive the defeat and imprisonment of his nephew. His death became the signal or commencement of a long period of anarchy, Interregnum, and civil war. The Catholic faction, supported by the bishops, availed themselves of the vacancy of the throne, in order to recover their influence; which, without being altogether extinguished, had been diminished during the late reign, from the rapid progress made by the Lutheran doctrines. This party possessed sufficient power to impede the election of Christian, eldest son of Frederic; a prince who having already attained to manhood, gave the fairest promises of virtue and ability. His attachment to the reformed religion served as a pretext, for at least delaying the choice of a sovereign, till the Norwegian deputies should arrive in the capital. But, the numerous and augmenting calamities of the State, did not permit measures of procrastination to be pursued, without risking the very existence of the State itself. The city of Lubeck, whose power and

Civil war.

[h] Puffendorf, p. 199, 200. Vertot, vol. ii. p. 111—120. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 78—122.

resources

resources were in that age almost inexhaustible, undertook to restore the imprisoned King, Christian the Second; a proof that all his tyrannical acts had not extinguished the sentiments of attachment towards him, in the breasts of his former subjects. Their fleet, mistress of the Baltic, occupied the passage of the Sound, while a powerful army entered Copenhagen, the inhabitants of which city opened their gates to the invaders. The island of Zealand, as well as the province of Scania, were already lost; and the few remaining dependancies of the Danish monarchy must have been speedily reduced by the rebels. In this desperate situation, the principal nobility and prelates met at a town in Jutland; where, notwithstanding the reluctance of the ecclesiastical order to elect a sovereign, whose religious tenets were known to be adverse to their own, the menaces of the people, who surrounded the assembly, loudly demanding the nomination of Christian, son to their late King, overcame all further opposition or delay. The young prince was chosen by general acclamation, and instantly proclaimed.[i]

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1533, 1534.

Election of Christian the Third.

It was not possible to receive the donation of a crown under more adverse circumstances, or which demanded more ability, valor, and perseverance to secure. The insurgents already prepared to carry the war into the island of Funen, which, together with Jutland, had hitherto retained their allegiance, though they could not long resist so superior a force.

1534.

[i] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 147—216. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 98.

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a force. But, Christian the Third, who was destined to restore the expiring monarchy, possessed the qualities necessary for so great and difficult an atchievement. In the perusal of this period of the Danish annals, it seems impossible not to be forcibly reminded of the history of France, at the accession of Henry the Fourth. Like him, Christian found the State in the last stage of political distress, overrun by foreign enemies, and on the verge of destruction: like the King of Navarre, he was reduced to besiege his capital, and to reconquer his dominions. Similar likewise in the prosperous termination of all his difficulties, Christian emulated the valor, clemency, and other virtues of Henry; restored tranquillity to his people; and approved himself not less their parent, than their legislator. Copenhagen, during the continuance of the siege, endured extremities, not exceeded by those which the metropolis of France sustained under the Duke of Mayenne, as head of the "League;" and it was protracted to a still longer period than that of Paris. Its surrender was immediately followed by the submission of the whole kingdom; and Norway, after a short irresolution, proclaimed the new monarch.[k]

1534.

Similarity between him, and Henry the Fourth of France.

1534—1536. Siege of Copenhagen.

Christian introduces the Reformation into Denmark.

The complete abolition of the Catholic faith and worship, which constituted the first measure embraced and executed by Christian, was conducted with equal secresy, vigor and success.

[k] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 217—302, passim, and p. 324—333. Puffendorf, p. 202.

The

CHAP. XV. 1534—1536.

The bishops having been all arrested, were detained in confinement, till the States, convoked to determine on their fate, and on the choice of religion, should finally regulate so important a concern. During this assembly, one of the most memorable which occurs in the annals of Denmark, the nobility and the deputies of the third estate, unanimously decreed the confiscation of all the ecclesiastical property; appropriating it to the liquidation of the public debts, the endowment of seminaries for education, and other beneficial or national uses. We cannot contemplate such a legislative act, without astonishment and almost incredulity; nor is it easy to determine on sound principles, what degree of approbation it may justly claim. The Reformation, as promulgated by Luther, was rendered the predominant religion; and so universally had those doctrines already obtained admittance among all classes of men, that not even a struggle was made, or any opposition experienced, to the change. A considerable augmentation of revenue accrued to the crown, in consequence of the suppression of the monastic orders, which followed; but, a still greater political alteration, not foreseen even by its authors, arose from the encrease of the aristocratic power and influence. That class of men, no longer counterbalanced by the clergy, swallowed up the other orders; equally oppressing the royal prerogative, and extinguishing the franchises of the people. It was not till the middle of the seventeenth century, under the reign of Frederic the Third, that the Danish

Political consequences of that change.

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kings emancipated themselves from the fetters, in which they were retained by the nobility.[1]

1537—1559. Reign of Christian.

The kingdom which Christian had rescued from anarchy and rebellion, he long continued to govern with wisdom and moderation. Naturally disposed by his character to cultivate peace, he assiduously exerted himself to anticipate, and to remove every occasion which might involve his subjects in hostilities. Towards Sweden, the quarter from whence he regarded the danger as most probable or imminent, he directed his vigilant and unremitted attention. Gustavus Vasa, whose military skill, aided by great talents, had raised him to the throne of that country, was not destitute of ambition to extend the limits of his dominions; and the contiguity of the frontier provinces of the two monarchies, afforded the utmost facility for invasion, as well as continual occasions of dispute. The King of Sweden even indicated a disposition to renew the antient quarrels, which time had rather suspended, than extinguished: but the candor and sincerity of Christian disarmed, or restrained him; and while the two monarchs continued to reign, no rupture between them ever took place[m].

His policy towards Sweden.

Reign of Frederic the Second.

The accession of Frederic the Second, eldest son of Christian, to the throne of Denmark; and that of Eric the Fourteenth, who, nearly at the same period succeeded to Gustavus, opened a new scene in the north of Europe. Hostilities originating from causes the most frivolous, long

War with Sweden.

[1] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 305—323.

[m] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 98, 99. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 410—415.

involved

involved the two countries in calamities, which were heightened by the antipathy of their respective kings. CHAP. XV. 1559—1574.

All the barbarous excesses, ever committed by Attila, or by Genseric, were renewed in the frozen regions that surround the Pole; where the two nations seemed to vie with each other, in acts of cruelty and ferocity. The Baltic was covered with fleets, which alternately vanquished, and insulted by turns each other's coasts. Norway and Scania were ravaged by the Swedes; while the Danes repeatedly penetrated into the interior provinces of the enemy, approached within sixty miles of Stockholm, and more than once seemed to have nearly atchieved the conquest of the kingdom itself. Even the deposition and imprisonment of Eric, whose frantic excesses had become insupportable to his own subjects, could not terminate, though it suspended for a few months, the violence of hostilities. John the Third, his brother, was no sooner confirmed on the Swedish throne, than he instantly prepared to make fresh exertions, notwithstanding the exhausted state of his finances, and the de-population of his dominions. But, the interposition of the Emperor Maximilian the Second, and the mediation of the court of France, having at length compelled the two princes to desist, tranquillity was restored by the peace of Stettin. After near eight years of a contest which had thinned the human species, while it had reduced many parts of Sweden and Norway to a desert, scarcely a castle or a village had been

Mutual ravages.

Peace of Stettin. 1569.

CHAP. XV. 1569.

gained by either side: even these acquisitions were mutually restored. Frederic availed himself of the succeeding repose, to obliterate the past misfortunes which his subjects had sustained; and Denmark, during a considerable period, remained undisturbed by any internal commotion, or external calamity. Such was its state in 1574.[n]

State of Denmark. 1574.

In order to form an accurate or just idea of the political weight and importance of the Danish crown and nation, considered as a member of the European system, about the middle of the sixteenth century, it becomes indispensable to trace the geographical limits of the monarchy, as it then existed. Frederic the Second reigned over several provinces, which are no longer enjoyed by his descendants in the present age, and occupied a much higher place among the powers of the North; more especially when we reflect that the Muscovites had not yet penetrated to the shores of the Baltic, nor established themselves in Livonia, Ingria, and Finland. The three southern and most fertile provinces of Sweden; Scania, Halland, and Bleking, which nearly circumscribe the whole extent of coast lying between the cities of Gottemburg and of Calmar, belonged to Denmark; consequently rendering her completely mistress of the important passage of the Sound, on both sides, through which the whole trade of the Polar countries must necessarily pass. To these

Territories.

[n] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 1—129. passim. L'Art. de Verif. vol. ii. p. 99.

pos-

possessions, was added the island of Gothland, valuable in itself; but, far more so from its situation, near the eastern coast of Sweden, lying in the direct tract of navigation between Copenhagen and Stockholm. The superiority which it conferred in time of war between the two nations, was even greater than during peace; as it enabled the Danes to impede, or to intercept the whole commerce of their enemy, while it afforded an asylum for their own fleets, in case of defeat.

CHAP. XV. 1574.

The most fertile and productive part of Frederic's dominions, which provinces peculiarly connected him with Germany and the southern states of Europe, were those of Sleswic and Holstein; the antient patrimony of his house. They were not incorporated with the crown of Denmark, which kingdom might be still considered to a certain degree as elective; whereas the two duchies descended to him by hereditary right. But, on the other hand, as the laws of primogeniture were not then established in all their force, every head of the family was compelled to divide with the younger branches, the territories which they inherited in common. Christian the Third having left two sons, besides his successor, allotted or bequeathed to them, some of the richest districts of Holstein. The diminution of power and revenue which the crown suffered, constituted neither the only, nor the smallest evils resulting from these partitions. Disputes, jealousy, even civil war frequently ensued: they were, indeed, almost unavoidably

Holstein and Sleswic.

Partition of those duchies.

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generated by the very nature and circumstances of the transaction itself.[o]

1574. Commerce.

Denmark enjoyed only a small part of the vast commerce of the Baltic, at this period of its history. The Hanse towns, situate in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, at the head of which stood Lubeck, engrossing it in all its branches, exercised the most indefatigable vigilance for its preservation. They retained the kingdoms of the North in a degree of commercial subjection, approaching to slavery; and resented the slightest effort made on the part of the Danish monarchs, to effect their emancipation. Christian the Second, who, notwithstanding his crimes, appears to have been ever attentive to the interests of the crown, and of the inferior classes of his subjects; attempted to infringe the privileges granted to Lubeck by his predecessors, and to open channels of trade to his own people, at their expence. Soon after his accession, in 1515, he concluded a treaty with Ivan Basilowitz, Czar of Muscovy, by which it was stipulated, that a Danish company should be established at Novogrod, for the purposes of traffic: but, that powerful confederacy crushed the plans of Christian, and was highly instrumental in fomenting the revolt which deprived him of the crown[p]. His successors were either too weak, or too exhausted by their foreign quarrels, to break the fetters imposed on them.

Power of the Hanseatic league.

Its decline.

[o] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 397—402.; vol. vii. p. 25, 26.
[p] Ibid. vol. v. p. 369, 370, and p. 499—505.

Towards

Towards the year 1540, the prodigious commerce of Lubeck, as well as that of Wismar, Rostock, and Stralsund, began sensibly to decline. Various causes contributed to produce this revolution; but above all others, the augmenting industry, activity, and enterprize of the Dutch and English, who navigated the Baltic, and no longer carried on their transactions through the medium of the Hanseatic league [q]. How lucrative the traffic of the northern kingdoms must have proved, we may judge by only observing, that the Hanse towns exclusively supplied all Europe with every production found in those climates or regions: among the number were masts, naval stores, hemp, pitch, copper, iron, wax, furs, tallow, and grain of every kind. To the list, may be added another very essential article, the herring fishery, uncommonly abundant in the Baltic; and the consumption of which exceeded calculation, in an age when all Europe was catholic. Under Frederic the Second, Denmark beginning slowly and gradually to participate in so extensive a trade, derived a part of the profits from which she had been previously excluded. [r]

CHAP. XV. 1574.

Articles of trade.

In no part of Europe was the Reformation introduced, and the Catholic religion suppressed, with more facility than in the Danish dominions. Norway following the example of Denmark, in neither of those kingdoms was so great a change accompanied by any con-

[q] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 165—168.

[r] Ibid. p. 166.

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1574. State of Iceland.

vulsion, or with the effusion of blood [s]. But, the case proved widely different in Iceland. That remote and barbarous province combated for the antient faith, with a violence and pertinacity proportioned to its state of ignorance. During twelve years, from 1539, to 1551, the inhabitants were involved in civil war, and all its attendant evils. Christian the Third was compelled to send two ships, and five hundred soldiers, in order to re-establish tranquillity thro'out the island [t]. Greenland was included in the dependancies of the Norwegian monarchy, and colonized from thence as early as the eleventh century [u]. This fact merits peculiar attention. The trade to those frozen and desolate regions, however extraordinary it may appear, was even superintended with uncommon anxiety, and interdicted to every European nation. We can scarcely believe that Christianity was established within the Arctic circle, and that an episcopal diocese existed among the snows in the vicinity of the Pole. In the year 1386, the Bishop of Garde, capital of Greenland, who was a suffragan of the archiepiscopal see of Drontheim, assisted at an ecclesiastical assembly held at Nyberg, in the isle of Funen [x]. Under the reign of Margaret of Waldemar, towards the close of the fourteenth century, the colony disappeared. Its destruction was

Greenland.

[s] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 305—323, and p. 324—333.
[t] Ibid. p. 407—410.
[u] Ibid. vol. iv p. 324.
[x] Mallet, vol. iv. p. 325.

attri-

attributed to the effects of the great plague which ravaged Europe about 1350, and to the consequent want of regular supplies of provisions from Norway. [y]

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1574. Colonization of that country.

Various, but ineffectual endeavours were exerted to discover the remains of this establishment, if any survived: under the reign of Christian the Second, Valkendorf, Archbishop of Drontheim, a prelate of literature and merit, sent repeated expeditions thither, for the same purpose, but without success, the settlers having all perished [z]. No attempt to recolonize Greenland, has been made within the last four hundred years. It is a remarkable fact, that the same fate has hitherto attended the Spanish American colonies near the southern pole; all the garrisons or establishments left in Terra del Fuogo, and on the coast of Patagonia, having been destroyed by the inclemency of those inhospitable latitudes, or by the want of provisions. It would form an object of curious philosophical, and even political experiment, to ascertain how near to the two poles, man could exist in a state of society: the advanced progress of navigation in the present age, could leave little apprehension of the ability to supply such a colony, with regular quantities of provisions and necessaries of every kind.

Destruction of the colony.

The prodigious armaments, military as well as naval, made and sustained for more than seven

Navy.

[y] Mallet, vol. iv. p. 325. [z] Ibid. vol. v. p. 536, note.

years,

CHAP. XV. 1574.

years, by Frederic the Second, during the war carried on against Eric the Fourteenth, excite astonishment, when we consider how slender were the revenues of the crown, and how impossible it was to impose any considerable taxes, either on the nobility, or on the people. In 1563, the Danish fleet consisted of twenty-seven large ships, and fourteen of an inferior size, carrying four thousand, six hundred men: it was joined by six vessels from Lubeck [a]. The Swedish squadrons were even generally superior in numbers. During the same year, Frederic, when he marched into the province of West-Gothland, and laid siege to Elfsburg, had under his immediate command, an army of twenty-four thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry [b]. The difficulty of finding subsistence for so large a body of men, may be easily conceived; in a country naturally unproductive, where the peasants usually were obliged, even in time of peace, to mix the bark of trees with their flour, and frequently to subsist altogether upon salted herrings [c]. In fact, these expeditions, though ruinous to both parties in an extreme degree, became from that very cause, proportionably short in their duration. National antipathy and mutual resentment furnished arms; while the plunder of the miserable peasants, supplied the deficiency of regular pay. Even in the more civilized and wealthy monarchies of Eu-

Military forces.

[a] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 54.
[b] Ibid. p. 53.
[c] Ibid. vol. v. p. 477.

rope,

rope, during a great part of the sixteenth century, similar irregularities prevailed.

1574.

The ravages and calamities inseparable from war, were deeply felt in the suspension or extinction of the arts, and of all science, thro'out Denmark. It was not till after the peace of Stettin, in 1570, that they began to exhibit any vigor, and to become objects of cultivation. Christian the First had indeed founded the university of Copenhagen, as early as the year 1478; but, under his successor, John the Second, it fell into total decay[d]. After the confiscation of the ecclesiastical property by Christian the Third, and the introduction of the reformed religion in 1539; that prince having appropriated a portion of the church lands, towards the maintenance of professors in various branches of literature, re-established the university. He likewise assigned funds for its use, payable from the duties levied on all ships passing thro' the Sound; endowed it with many valuable privileges; and ordered that the chancellor of the kingdom should always in future bear the title, and exercise the office, of protector of the university. From this period it continued to acquire celebrity, and to become a national benefit[e]. Henry the Eighth made no such beneficial application of the lands of the monasteries, when precisely about the same period, he dissolved the monastic orders of both sexes, thro'out England.

Letters.

University of Copenhagen.

[d] Mallet, vol. v. p. 171—175. [e] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 413, 414.

Sur-

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1574.

Surnames began to be used among the Danes, under the reign of Frederic the First, about 1524. Antecedently, families were distinguished only by their armorial bearings; and every person was content to add the word "Son," to his christian name[f]. The attention of Christian the Second to procure for his Queen, Isabella of Austria, some of the delicacies or productions, to which she had been accustomed in the Netherlands, proved highly advantageous to Denmark. Immediately after the celebration of the nuptials, on her arrival at Copenhagen, the King having caused a colony of Flemings to be transported thither, settled them in the little island of Amak, contiguous to the capital. Those industrious peasants first introduced into the countries of the North, the use of vegetables, sallads, and other roots; or at least, augmented and ameliorated their cultivation[g]. This fact may serve to shew that Christian the Second, tho' a tyrant, possessed an enlarged mind. Fruit trees were little known before the reign of Frederic the Second, when Oxe, High Steward of the kingdom, caused several species of them to be brought into Zealand.[h]

Surnames.

Vegetables.

Tycho Brahè.

Of the state of knowledge and letters in Denmark, it would be requisite to say very little, if the illustrious name of Tycho Brahè did not in some measure render it necessary. Though more than two centuries have elapsed since his

[f] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 124.
[g] Ibid. vol. v. p. 367, 368.
[h] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 95, note.

decease,

decease, the Danes have not produced any name which can be placed in competition with him. He had already distinguished himself in 1574; but as he did not not attain to his greatest celebrity till some years later, he consequently cannot strictly be regarded as belonging to the period under our consideration. Frederic the Second long extended to him the most munificent protection, though the enemies of the philosopher subsequently induced him to withdraw his bounty. Besides a donation which he made to Tycho of the island of Huen in the Sound, destined for his astronomical studies and experiments, where he founded the city of Uranibourg, or more properly the observatory of that name, the King assigned him a pension of two thousand crowns; gave him the revenues of an episcopal see in Norway, and a canonry of the cathedral of Roskeld in Zealand[1]. It would be difficult to find in the list of Louis the Fourteenth's ostentatious gratifications to men of letters, any equal mark of princely liberality. In the present age, nothing comparable to it is to be met with, even in the magnificent donations of the Empress Catherine the Second; the only European sovereign, except George the Third, who has extended any real patronage to genius and science. The late King of Prussia, Frederic the Second, knew indeed how to admire and estimate, but he rarely rewarded talents, unless by decorations, encomiums,

CHAP. XV. 1574.

[1] Biogr. Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 391. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 160.

together

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together with the honor of being admitted to his table and conversation.

1574. The genius of Brahè was unquestionably very eminent, though the remaining barbarism and ignorance of the century sullied its lustre. He was, if possible, still more addicted to the study of astrology, than to the pursuits of astronomical knowledge; and every object that met his eye, appeared an omen to his imagination. What can we think of a natural philosopher, who constantly kept a lunatic chained at his feet when he sat down to table; fed him with his own hand, and listened to the ravings of his delirium, as to the prophetic language of inspiration [k]? But, these absurdities were characteristic of the time in which he lived, and from which, however superior in other respects, he was not exempt. His talents did not less excite the admiration of his contemporaries, or less entitle him to the respect of posterity. Driven from his native country, and deprived of the royal patronage which had enabled him to prosecute his studies, he found a refuge under Rodolph the Second, Emperor of Germany, at Prague. In that city Tycho expired, early in the seventeenth century, an exile from Denmark, as Anaxagoras had been from Athens in antiquity; as Danté, Descartes, St. Evrémond, Clarendon, Rousseau, and so many other illustrious men have been banished from their respective countries, either

[k] Biogr. Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 392.

by envy, faction, or by the eccentricity too often characteristic of superior talents. To Brahè we owe some of the greatest discoveries made in the science of astronomy. Keppler, who pushed his researches higher and deeper, was protected by him while in the court of Rodolph. Galileo, advancing further in the same profound, as well as sublime and arduous researches, unbarred the gates of natural philosophy, and prepared the way, a few years later, for the appearance of Newton.

1574.

CHAP. XVI.

SWEDEN.

State of Sweden at the time of Gustavus Vasa's revolt. — His success. — Elevation to the throne. — Poverty of the crown. — Policy of Gustavus. — Seizure of the ecclesiastical property. — Abolition of the Catholic faith and worship. — Insurrections. — Domestic misfortunes. — Crown declared hereditary. — Close of Gustavus's reign. — His death and character. — Accession of Eric the Fourteenth. — Events of his reign. — War with Denmark. — Insanity, and excesses of Eric. — His deposition and confinement. — Reign and measures of John the Third. — Survey of Sweden in 1574. *— Revenues of the crown. — Power and riches of the clergy. — Military forces. — Navy. — Commerce. — Internal navigation. — Arts and manufactures. — Ferocity of the northern nations in war. — Triumphal processions and shews. — Titles and honors. — Luxuries.*

CHAP. XVI.

Connexion between the Swedish and Danish history.

THE Danish and Swedish history are so intimately blended or connected, previous to the elevation of Gustavus Vasa to the throne of the latter kingdom, as to become in fact inseparable. They form, if we may so express ourselves, two political reflecting mirrors. During above fifty years subsequent to "the Union "of Calmar" in 1397, the whole Scandinavian monarchy continued to be united under one head; and after that period, though the Swedes succes-

successively elected to the office of supreme magistrate, various noblemen, one of whom bore the title of King, yet the final independance and separation of the state from its Danish masters, was by no means effected. Christian the First, and John the Second, who each in turn, subjected Sweden, had been solemnly crowned at Stockholm: Christian the Second, not satisfied with attaining by force of arms to the same elevation, proceeded to exterminate the nobility, and to establish a despotic government, secured by foreign troops. The abhorrence and indignation, excited by such oppression, was extinguished by the still greater terror which it inspired; and never did the condition of any country appear to be more desperate or irrecoverable [a]. The situation of Spain in 1808, and thro'out the subsequent year, when a tyrant equally ferocious, and far more formidable, subtle, and able than Christian the Second, after entrapping and imprisoning the kings of Spain, had reduced the monarchy to submission; seems to form the only parallel which we can adduce from the history of our own times, to the example presented by Sweden at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

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1520—1523. Obstacles opposed to Gustavus Vasa.

It was precisely in this emergency, that Gustavus Vasa, recently escaped from his prison in Jutland, appeared on the political Scene. No circumstance can more strongly demonstrate the firm possession which the Danes had gained of Sweden, than the difficulties and reluctance

[a] Puffendorf, Vertot, Mallet, passim.

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which Gustavus experienced, in his efforts to rouse his countrymen from their state of servitude. The portion of the nobility who had survived the late massacre, were either humbled into submission, or were devoted to their new sovereign. Nor can it be concealed that the clergy had become Christian's principal agents, instruments, and ministers, in the execution of all his projects. Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upsal, who had acted a part in the tragedy of Stockholm, had been rewarded by the highest confidence, as well as political power. The peasants, conscious that they were the victims of every administration, and hopeless of any amelioration in their condition, long rejected the exhortations of Gustavus to assert their liberties, and to expel their tyrants[b]. It must likewise be observed, that notwithstanding all the enormities justly imputed to Christian, their effects were principally, if not exclusively confined, to the higher ranks of his subjects. His policy induced him to protect the inferior orders, with a view, by the aid of their affections, to sustain himself against the hatred, or the machinations of the nobility. For this purpose, at the very period of time when he sacrificed the Swedish senators to his vengeance, he distributed among the people, through many of the provinces, a largess, of all others the most necessary, as well as grateful to the inhabitants of a sterile country; which donation consisted of salt and herrings.[c]

State of the Swedish peasants.

[b] Mallet, vol. v. p. 476, 477.

[c] Ibid. p. 476, 477.

In

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In fact, Gustavus, far from being able to excite a revolt at Calmar, which he attempted, found himself in danger of being there delivered up to the Danes: he proved equally unsuccessful in East Gothland, and in Sudermania. In despair he retired to the province of Dalecarlia, the inhabitants of which, as he had afterwards frequent occasion to experience, himself, were ever prompt to take up arms against their rulers, on the slightest pretences. Remote from the capital, protected by their mountains and forests, they felt little indignation at the bloody scenes lately performed by Christian, which they only knew by report; and in order to induce them to renounce their allegiance, it became necessary to alarm them by assurances that pecuniary impositions, to which they were unused, would be speedily exacted from them [d]. So true is it that in all ages, despotism has found fewer impediments in disposing of the lives, than in seizing on the property of the people. Irritated by these apprehensions, they joined the standard of Gustavus, and marched towards the capital; but, far from finding it either defenceless or abandoned, they were defeated near Upsal, and compelled to relinquish the siege of Stockholm. The fortitude of their leader, together with the great resources of his character, supported him nevertheless under every reverse; and the succors sent him by the

Gustavus retires into Dalecarlia.

His successful revolt.

[d] Mallet, vol. v. p. 478, 479. Puffendorf, p. 170. Vertot, tome i. p. 135—137.

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city of Lubeck, enabled him to maintain the contest, till the disaffection of Christian's subjects in Jutland, fortunately terminated it in his favor.[e]

Talents, ambition, and address of Gustavus.

It required, notwithstanding, the greatest combination of talents, aided by the most consummate policy, in order to attain the ultimate object of his ambition, the crown of Sweden. Thro'out the prosecution of that arduous enterprize, we can never sufficiently admire his address, circumspection, and ability, in profiting of every circumstance that could either facilitate, or accelerate its attainment. Without these qualities, the intrepidity, patriotism, and even the success of Gustavus over the Danes, would neither have conducted him to, nor would have maintained him on the throne. He manifested in every part of his conduct, a perfect knowledge of the Swedes; and in the moment of victory, or of enthusiasm, he never lost sight of his own interest, nor suffered himself to be diverted from the pursuit of his reward. Those, who regard Gustavus only as the heroic deliverer of his country, such as we find *the Cid* described by the Spaniards, or as *Wallace* is depictured by the Scots, can have very imperfectly studied his character, or followed his actions. Without diminishing the lustre of his atchievements, or arraigning the purity of the principles which excited him to attempt the emancipation of Sweden, we may be permitted to regard him as not exempt from human frailties. We may indeed

[e] Puffendorf, p. 172, 173.

con-

consider him as the most perfect model of a well-regulated and successful ambition, which is presented to us in the history of mankind. William the First, Prince of Orange, who at a later period of the same century, succeeded after prodigious efforts, in emancipating the Dutch from the tyranny of Philip the Second, and who received as his recompense, the dignity of Stadtholder; forms the most apt resemblance which modern history furnishes, to the Swedish hero. There is, indeed, a striking similarity between the characters, fortunes, and final elevation of William and of Gustavus. Even in the line of policy embraced by William the Third in 1688, some faint analogy with the founder of the house of Vasa, may be discovered by those who look below the surface of things.

His measures for attaining the crown.

Raised by the gratitude of the States-General of the kingdom whom he had assembled, to the dignity of Administrator, an office which might be considered as conferring on him the Regency, he beheld in this promotion, only the facility which it gave, of ascending yet higher, and of attaining to the throne. Always master of himself, of his courage, and of his troops, he rendered them subservient to his personal elevation, by alternately profiting of his advantages over the enemy, or by repressing the ardor of his soldiery, as best suited his private purposes. Trusting more to the apprehensions, than to the gratitude of the people whom he served, he never would consent to the expulsion of the

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Danes, till he had received the full reward of his public services, by the donation of the crown. His conduct during the siege of Stockholm, will best exemplify these assertions. The garrison, which was left by Christian the Second in that city, hopeless of succors, and reduced to extremity, demanded to capitulate, without stipulating for any other conditions, except a promise of receiving from Gustavus the arrears of their pay. A general who had made the welfare of the Republic, the only, or the primary object of his consideration, would have instantly accepted proposals so beneficial to the State, which secured its future independance. But, far from being desirous to terminate the war, while the throne still continued vacant, Gustavus embraced a different, and a much wiser, as well as more interested policy. Convoking the States anew, he appeared in person as a triumphant commander, in the midst of the Assembly; filled up all the vacancies in the Senate, with persons devoted to his interests; caused the recapitulation of his exploits and services to be made by the president; and then proposed to elect a king without delay. The choice, as he well knew, could only fall upon himself; and the acclamations of every order of citizens ratified the decree, which conferred the sceptre on their deliverer[f]. In contemplating this curious exhibition, it must be confessed that we

He is elected king.

[f] Puffendorf, p. 173, 174. Vertot, tome i. p. 180—182; and tome ii. p. 18—22.

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are more reminded of Cromwell, or of Bonaparte, than of Andrew Doria. The Swedes would even have proceeded to his instant coronation: but the new monarch, neither intoxicated, nor dazzled by his recent elevation, postponed the ceremony to a period of more tranquillity; and having attained the gratification of all his views, resumed the siege of Stockholm. As ready then to grant, as he had been before to refuse, the terms demanded by the garrison, he accorded them all the honors of war, and even engaged to transport them to Lubeck. Towards the burghers and inhabitants of the capital, he exerted equal clemency and affability; while his application to affairs, his vigilance, and his capacity, rendered the royal authority respected throughout the provinces. Sweden, long accustomed either to foreign tyranny, or to the limited and precarious government of Administrators, beheld at length a prince established on the throne, capable of inspiring veneration, while he conciliated universal affection. [g]

He enters Stockholm, by capitulation.

Great as might be justly considered the elevation to which Gustavus had attained, it only seemed to open new prospects to his vast and aspiring mind, which gradually matured and unfolded its plans, under the guidance of profound discernment, sustained by consummate prudence. If we consider indeed, the nature of the power entrusted to him, as well as the

1523. May. Limited authority, and revenues, of Gustavus.

[g] Vertot, tome ii. p. 22—25. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 97.

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state of the revenues, commerce, and resources of Sweden at his accession, it cannot excite surprize, that he should manifest a desire of extending and improving them by every honorable means. Scarcely could he be said to possess more than the honors annexed to royalty, as well as its cares and embarrassments. The domain of the crown was reduced so low, as to be found unequal to any exertion demanding expence; while the clergy possessed not only a vast proportion of the landed property; but, by means of their castles and vassals, were enabled to bid defiance to his authority [h]. It was dangerous to attempt the imposition of taxes, at the commencement of his reign; and the people, little accustomed in that age to the load of modern pecuniary burdens, were likewise from their poverty, incapable of sustaining them. Above all, the severe conditions which Lubeck had exacted from him, as the price of her assistance in expelling the Danes, rendered it indispensable to discover some mode of liberating the country from its commercial fetters. That interested and mercenary city, which, with the unworthy spirit of mercantile calculation, only looked in every transaction of state, to sordid views of profit, had rated the succors sent to Gustavus, at sixty thousand Marks. As he found himself incapable of raising so large a sum, he was necessitated not only to exempt their vessels trading to Sweden,

[h] Lagerbring, p. 49. Vertot, tome ii. p. 46.

from

from the payment of all duties whatever; but, to concede to them the exclusive and sole monopoly of the trade itself, with its attendant advantages; thus sacrificing to the acquisition of the Swedish throne, the most solid source of his future revenue.[1] CHAP. XVI. 1523.

In a situation so beset with difficulties, the profound and active mind of Gustavus beheld only one resource adequate to the magnitude of the evil; which resource, while it enriched and strengthened the throne, equally promised alleviation and redress to the people. The introduction of the Protestant religion in every European state, was followed by the seizure and confiscation of the ecclesiastical property; and this motive may, without impeaching the rectitude of his conduct, be supposed to have entered into the number of his inducements for attempting so great a revolution in Sweden. His whole life and character prove beyond any doubt, that neither fanaticism, nor religious zeal, dictated his measures; which, like those embraced by him on every other occasion, were planned with deliberate sagacity, produced with caution, and either delayed, or propelled and accelerated, as the circumstances appeared to authorize him. Conscious of the dangers with which the enterprize itself was beset, he developed it slowly and partially; concealed his own opinions; and waited till the Lutheran doctrines should have made a greater progress in Stock- 1524—1526. His able measures for their augmentation.

[1] Mallet, vol. v. p. 502—504. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxiii. p. 125.

holm,

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1524—1526.

He projects to introduce the Reformation.

holm, as well as in the provinces, before he ventured to extend to them even an indirect protection. Advancing gradually, as he felt himself confirmed on the throne, he permitted disputes to be held on religious subjects, and allowed of the translation of the sacred Scriptures; while he at the same time demanded from the dignified ecclesiastics, a contribution towards the necessities of the State. Irritated by their refusal to assist him, he ventured on a hazardous experiment, in which we do not seem to trace the ordinary caution of Gustavus. Having presented himself, with a number of armed followers, during the annual fair held at the metropolitan city of Upsal, he harangued the multitude there assembled, declaimed against the indolence and avarice of the Catholic priests, and avowed his intention of converting their useless revenues, to the use and extrication of the kingdom. Finding however his discourse not so grateful to the auditors, as he had flattered himself it would have proved; far from persisting, he relinquished his project, turned it, himself, into raillery, and even affected to caress the primate, in whose presence and diocese so extraordinary a scene had taken place.[k]

Obstacles to his plan.

Gustavus, neither deterred from the prosecution of his object, by the ill success of his attempt at Upsal; nor intimidated by the appearance of an impostor in Dalecarlia, who assumed the name of Sture, son to the last

[k] Puffendorf, p. 179—184. Vertot, tome ii. p. 47—70.

Ad mi-

Administrator of Sweden; steadily pursued the plan of abolishing the antient religion: nor did the indirect encouragement and assistance, which Frederic the First, King of Denmark, extended to his enemies, retard the completion of his purpose. Supported by the attachment of the burghers and magistrates of Stockholm, who had almost universally embraced the Reformation, he again convoked the States of the kingdom; among whom the ecclesiastics held a distinguished rank. In that assembly, after having represented the poverty of the crown, the general distress of the country, and the disproportionate wealth of the clergy, as well as their political power, of both which they had made so pernicious a use; he did not hesitate to propose the resumption of their castles, the confiscation of their valuable ornaments or moveables, and the re-union to the royal domain, of all lands which had been given to the church since the year 1454.[1]

CHAP. XVI. 1524—1526. 1527. Convocation of the States.

Even in this decisive measure, which unveiled the whole system and intentions of the King, we still trace the same consistency of conduct and character; while we behold the same judicious caution, in withholding a part of his plan, for which he unquestionably knew that the nation was not fully prepared. The abolition of the Catholic faith and worship, tho' evidently the necessary consummation of his work, did not yet appear without disguise;

Caution and vigor of Gustavus.

[1] Vertot, tome ii. p. 74—88. Puffendorf, p. 186—190.

Gus-

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Gustavus only proposing liberty of conscience, as the basis and principle of all his future regulations. It is clear likewise, that he was not unprepared for the hesitation and reluctance manifested by the States; which proceeded to so great a height, that rising from his seat, he declared his resolution to renounce the royal dignity, and for ever to abandon his infatuated and ungrateful country. But, he took care to annex to the menace of his abdication, a condition, the difficulty of complying with which he well knew; namely, the previous repayment of all the sums which he had expended from his private patrimony, in the service of Sweden. Retiring from the assembly during four days, he passed that time among his officers, engaged in festivities and banquets, calculated to retain them in their implicit obedience to his commands; and the States terminated the contest, by a prompt and complete submission. The clergy remonstrated without effect. Their castles were instantly seized, or surrendered; and Gustavus not only appropriated to his own use, the immense sequestrations in lands and effects; but, he refused to admit the nobility to any participation in the spoils of the church. [m]

Confiscation of the lands of the clergy.

Strengthened by so vast an accession of influence and wealth, he proceeded more openly, yet not without precaution, towards the final consummation of his views. The Dalecarlians,

[m] Puffendorf, p. 190—193. Lagerbring. p. 50—52. Vertot, tome ii. p. 88—98.

terrified at the approach of a body of troops which he had sent against them, expelled their leader, and submitted. Gustavus pardoned them; but, when they ventured to revolt a second time, he marched into the province in person, forced them to deliver up their chiefs, and after having caused them to be immediately beheaded, dismissed the inferior rebels[n]. It was not till he had visited his dominions, ascertained the revenues of the monastic orders by accurate examinations, and prepared the minds of his subjects for the ultimate religious innovations which he projected, that he proceeded to his coronation. The ceremony, which was performed at Upsal, became the signal for the total abolition of the antient religion, already shaken by repeated attacks. A convocation of the clergy, in which assembly the chancellor presided, publickly announced their separation from the Romish see, and the establishment of the Lutheran form of worship[o]. Able as were the measures by which Gustavus prepared and preceded this last act, it produced a fermentation, which under a prince of inferior vigor and popularity, must have proved not only fatal to his projects, but probably subversive of his throne. The insurrections occasioned by it, were neither limited to any one province, nor to any particular class of people. The nobles, incensed at having been excluded from a share in the ecclesiastical plunder, or bigotted to the faith of

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1527. Gustavus reduces the Dalecarlians.

1528. His coronation.

Introduction and establishment of the Reformation.

Insurrections.

[n] Vertot, p. 100—105.

[o] Ibid. p. 106—108. Puffendorf, p. 193—196. Champigny, Hist. Abregé. de Suede, p. 7—10.

their

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their ancestors, aided the clergy. Not only the Dalecarlians, but the inhabitants in other parts of Sweden, openly renounced their allegiance, and even attempted to elect another sovereign.

Reflexions on the conduct of Gustavus.

The more we contemplate the measure of Gustavus, in changing the national religion of the Swedes, the more shall we find reason to admire the capacity which planned and executed so bold an innovation. We must recollect that he was only an elective king, scarcely placed on the throne. Yet he shewed the way, and may be said to have pointed out the track, which Christian the Third followed in Denmark, about six years later; and which, as far as the dissolution and confiscation of the monastic property extended, our Henry the Eighth imitated, eleven years after Gustavus. But Christian appears to have experienced no opposition from the nobility, or from the people of Denmark; while the Swedish King surmounted resistance and rebellion under every form. The northern counties of England, like the Dalecarlians, manifested, indeed, a spirit of resistance to Henry's will, and even rose in open insurrection against him. If, however, we reflect that the English sovereign reigned by hereditary, not elective right; that he united in his person, the claims of the white, as well as of the red rose, to the crown; and had already filled the throne above thirty years, before he ventured to renounce subjection to the papal supremacy; we shall easily appreciate the comparative danger and merit of Gustavus's introduction

duction of the Reformation into Sweden; and we shall perceive how infinitely greater were the obstacles that he surmounted, than those with which the two kings, his contemporaries, had to contend. CHAP. XVI. 1528.

The vast ascendancy of Gustavus over his subjects, and the pre-eminent endowments which combined to form his character, were never more forcibly called into action, than at this critical and momentous period of his reign. By a happy and judicious mixture of clemency, with severity; by expostulation and argument, as much as by promptitude and decision, he restored tranquillity to Sweden, and dispersed the storm. It was not, however, effected without the effusion of blood: two senators lost their heads on the scaffold, and others only escaped by the payment of heavy pecuniary fines[p]. Denmark, which had fomented the discontents, afforded an asylum to the fugitives; and Frederic seized the occasion, to demand restitution of some dependencies of the kingdom of Norway, retained by the King of Sweden. But, it was not from a prince of the lofty character of Gustavus, that he was likely to obtain any public, or national concessions; and the Danish embassador received for answer, that "War or peace were alike welcome to the "Swedish monarch, who knew, and was pre-"pared to resent, the unworthy machinations "of Frederic[q]." No further proceedings took 1529, 1530. Vigorous policy and conduct of Gustavus.

[p] Puffendorf, p. 196, 197.
[q] Ibid. p. 197. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 69—71.

place;

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place; and the invasion made about this time by Christian the Second, their common enemy, compelled the two kings to suspend their personal animosities, while they opposed the antient tyrant of the North. Gustavus, by sending an army to the frontiers, which harassed the forces of Christian, and impeded his passage into Scania, decided the contest: he was reduced to the necessity of retreating into Norway, and soon afterwards of surrendering himself prisoner.[r]

1529, 1530.

1531—1534.

This great event, which confirmed the future tranquillity of Gustavus, only served to display the vigor of his genius. Not more enervated by prosperity, than he had been dejected by adversity, he embraced the wisest measures for augmenting the felicity of his people, while he consolidated and established the grandeur of his family. After having married a German princess, Christiana, daughter of the Duke of Saxe Lawemburg, he once more quelled the insolence and insurrections of the Dalecarlians; to whose generous adherence he originally owed his elevation; but who, by a singular change in their dispositions, laboured incessantly during a great part of his reign, to reduce him again to the condition of a subject. It cannot astonish those who know the nature of man, and who reflect on the despicable or insignificant causes by which he is impelled; to find that the rude inhabitants of this remote and uncivilized

New revolts of the Dalecarlians.

Wisdom of the King's administration.

[r] Vertot, tome ii. p. 111—120. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 78—113.

vilized province, strongly attached not only to their antient faith, but to every inferior appendage of their religion, were induced to revolt, by their resentment of the orders issued to expose to sale, the useless bells in the churches. The King was necessitated to adopt the last extremities, in order to enforce a compliance and thereby reduce them to obedience [s]. Attentive to enlarge the commerce of his subjects, he repaid the sums due to Lubeck; refused that haughty city, so long accustomed to dictate to sovereigns, the continuance of their exclusive, and lucrative monopoly; encouraged the ships of other nations to visit the Swedish ports; and defied the vengeance of the Senate of Lubeck, who insolently threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had been partly elevated by their assistance [t]. With Christian the Third, the successor of Frederic the First, King of Denmark, he entered into the closest connexions of amity and policy; which, at the commencement of that prince's reign, proved highly efficacious in confirming his power. [u] Though, from various causes, the harmony between them suffered afterwards some short and casual interruptions; yet the vigilance of the Swedish monarch, together with the moderate character of Christian, suspended all hostilities, and preserved the two kingdoms in repose. [x]

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1531—1534.

1535.

Policy towards Denmark.

[s] Puffendorf, p. 198—200. [t] Ibid. p. 200, 201.
[u] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 259—262. Puffendorf, p. 203.
[x] Ibid. p. 363—370. Puffendorf, p. 202.

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1536—1543. Close of Gustavus's reign.

If the morning of Gustavus's life had been so stormy, and its meridian so brilliant, its decline proved by no means exempt from those clouds and vicissitudes, to which man is always exposed; but proportionably more liable from his elevation. The religion which he had overturned, was not destitute of zealous partizans: the nobility had not yet learned the submission which kingly power exacts, and which is always yielded reluctantly to those who have been our equals; the people, ignorant, credulous, and turbulent, were easily inflamed by artful or seditious spirits. Continual conspiracies, discovered and anticipated by his energy or decision, disturbed his tranquillity, while they obliged him to recur to measures of severity for their suppression[y]. In his private capacity, he experienced no less the instability of human felicity; and had a melancholy presage of those domestic dissensions, which, even before his decease beginning to manifest themselves among his sons, eventually shook to the foundations, the grandeur to which he had raised the house of Vasa. His Queen did not possess the qualities calculated to excite his esteem, or to retain his affections. That unfortunate princess was supposed to have laboured under temporary alienations of mind; and the severity, if not brutality of her husband's treatment, was believed to have accele-

Domestic misfortunes.

[y] Puffendorf, p. 202.

rated,

rated, or produced her death [z]. She left only one son, the more unfortunate Eric, whose reign, deposition, and imprisonment, form a tragical portion of the Swedish history. Induced by motives of policy, as much as by inclination, Gustavus espoused the daughter of Abraham Ericson, a nobleman of the highest rank; with a view of securing to his sons, in case that he should have issue by her, the attachment and support of the most illustrious families in Sweden. Equally attentive to preserving the national repose, he renewed his alliance with the crown of Denmark; concluded a truce for sixty years, with the Great Duke of Muscovy; and made a defensive treaty for the mutual guarantee for their dominions, with Francis the First, King of France. [a]

1544. The crown is rendered hereditary in Gustavus's family.

All these negotiations and measures might be regarded as preludes to the last act of Gustavus's political elevation. Covered with personal glory; established on the throne by a triumphant administration of more than twenty years; revered by his subjects, as their deliverer and legislator; he still remained only an elective monarch. The single circumstance wanting to complete his high destiny, was the transmission of the sceptre to his posterity. The States, who had already given him so many testimonies of loyalty and devotion, did not refuse this final proof of national gratitude.

[z] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 261, 262. Puffendorf, p. 203.
[a] Puffendorf, p. 203.

CHAP. XVI.

1544. The crown being declared hereditary in the male line of the family of Vasa, Eric, his eldest son, was instantly acknowledged as successor to the kingdom of Sweden. In order at the same time to extinguish the remaining adherence to the Catholic faith, the reformed religion was solemnly confirmed, and every other form of worship was abolished thro'out the Swedish territories [b]. Arrived at the summit of his ambition by a long and painful gradation, Gustavus appeared desirous to secure his acquisition, rather than to augment, or extend it; and though the incursions of the Muscovites into Finland compelled him, reluctantly, to march against them in person, as well as to continue his military operations during two campaigns, yet the genius of his government was pacific.

1545—1558. Pacific measures and system.

Satiated with honors, declining in years, and occupied with internal regulations for the extension of commerce, or for the encrease of his revenue, he courted peace; and with the view of perpetuating it, he even permitted some acts of a hostile, or, at least of an equivocal nature, in the court of Denmark, to pass unnoticed, which at a more vigorous period of life, he would probably have resented [c]. All the duties of an enlightened and active prince, attentive to promote the felicity of his people, he continued to discharge; and while he amass-

Tranquillity of Sweden.

[b] Vertot, tome ii. p. 121—123. L'Art. de Verif. vol. ii. p. 97. Puffendorf, p. 206.

[c] Vertot, tome ii. p. 122.

ed

ed treasures unknown to his predecessors, the result of a wise frugality, he insensibly introduced the arts and refinement into Sweden. The navigation of the Baltic, hitherto almost confined to the Hanseatic league, became known to, and was carried on by his subjects: trade flowed into the ports of the kingdom; and it may be doubted whether any European state, in proportion to its means of acquiring wealth and consideration, enjoyed a greater degree of both, than did Sweden, during the close of this illustrious reign [d]. In contemplating the termination of it, the occupations of the sovereign, the greatness to which he had raised Sweden, and the speedy declension which followed his decease, under his less able successors; we are reminded of the elevation of the Prussian monarchy, in our own time, under the administration of Frederic the Second, followed by a rapid and total reverse, within a short period after the conclusion of his life. The last years of Gustavus and of Frederic, as well as the spirit of their respective governments, bear a strong analogy to each other.

CHAP. XVI. 1545—1558.

The public and political repose which Gustavus anxiously laboured to preserve, attended him to the grave: but, his approach to it was darkened no less than embittered by the dissensions which arose between Eric, and his younger sons; particularly, John, the eldest of his children by the second marriage. In addition to

Conduct of Eric.

[d] Lagerbring, p. 53, 54. Vertot, tome ii p. 123.

CHAP. XVI. 1559.

so melancholy a source of apprehension, the intractable and ill-regulated mind of his successor excited alarm, which seemed to partake of the hereditary intellectual malady derived from his mother. The pertinacity with which Eric, in opposition to the aged monarch's advice and expostulations, urged his suit to Elizabeth, then princess, but who soon afterwards became Queen of England; together with his obstinate prosecution of the match, not only against every reasonable hope of its completion, but contrary to the inclination of the states and people of Sweden; indicated a defect of judgment, accompanied by an impetuosity or inflexibility of the most irremediable nature. Gustavus himself, by his paternal fondness for his younger children, and by the ample territorial fiefs with which he endowed them, widened the breach, thus rendering them too independant of their future sovereign. John, whom he had always regarded with peculiar predilection, and to whom, it is asserted, that he had entertained intentions of devolving the crown itself, if the substitution could have been effected without danger; received from him the duchy of Finland. To Magnus, his third son, he bequeathed the province of West Gothland; to Charles, the last in order of birth, those of Sudermania, Nericia, and Wermeland.[e]

Division of the dominions of Sweden, among Gustavus's sons.

That the Swedes themselves should have thus permitted the dismemberment of the monarchy,

[e] Puffendorf, p. 223—226. Vertot, tome ii. p. 124—128.

may

may strike us with some surprize. The seeds and elements of civil war were moreover scattered with a liberal hand, in consequence of Gustavus's testamentary dispositions. Eric, deprived of the fertile province of Finland, essential almost to the existence of Sweden; having two brothers established in the heart of his dominions, nearly independant; and beholding the Danish kings in complete possession of the southern, maritime provinces, which were the most productive of any belonging to that portion of Europe; retained little except the name and honors of royalty. We are almost tempted to think that his father, aware of the infirmity of his successor's mind, and anticipating his deposition, though he could not set him aside from the succession, intentionally prepared the way for John the Third's eventual elevation to the throne. Yet, injurious as these vast donations were in every point of view, to the dignity as well as the grandeur of the crown, they were justified and authorized by the practice of the age; and we see them equally taking place in almost all the other monarchies of Europe. They subsisted in some parts of the German empire, among the princes of the second order, down to the middle of the seventeenth century.

CHAP. XVI. 1560.

Death of Gustavus.

Wearied at length with the importunities of Eric, his father, after convoking the States of the kingdom, in which he caused his testamentary dispositions to be read; and appearing for the last time among them, surrounded by his sons; consented to his successor's departure for England.

CHAP. XVI. 1560.

The prince, entirely engrossed by his romantic passion for Elizabeth, quitted Stockholm; and was already considerably advanced on his way to the port from which he intended to embark, when he was recalled by the intelligence of Gustavus's decease. In so critical a juncture, not venturing to prosecute his voyage, he therefore returned to the capital[f]. We may however assume with certainty, that had he reached the English shore, he would not have attained the object of his ambitious hopes. Elizabeth, who had already declined the hand of Philip the Second; and who, at subsequent periods of her life, rejected the addresses of two princes of France, one of whom afterwards ascended the throne of that country;—Elizabeth would not have allied her destiny, and divided her power, with a Swedish prince weak in his understanding, if not alienated in his mind. It cannot however excite surprize, that Eric should wish to marry a young queen of twenty-seven, agreeable in her person, mistress of so fine a kingdom as England; and it would have been happy for that unfortunate prince, if he had never exhibited any greater mark of insanity.

Review of his character and actions.

It would be useless to delineate the character of Gustavus Vasa, as we describe ordinary princes. His actions, his administration, and the length of his reign, have placed him in so conspicuous a point of light, while they have

[f] Celsius, Hist. d'Eric XIV. p. 34—41. Puffendorf, p. 226.

so

so accurately established his reputation, as to leave little to be pourtrayed by the historian. The commencement of his life does not more forcibly arrest the imagination, than its progress charms the judgment; nor is the hero and avenger of his country, more an object of love mingled with veneration, than the monarch appears, of respect and approbation. In every situation and condition, whether concealed in the mines of Dalecarlia, or elevated on the throne of Sweden, we follow him with that interest, which great actions alone can excite; and we participate in the just reward of his atchievements, a crown conferred by a grateful people. From the infirmities, and perhaps, the vices too frequently found even in the most exalted characters, which are almost inseparable from the nature of man, he was not exempt; but, his defects lay hid in the shade, while his sublime qualities appear in their full lustre. Few persons more justly illustrious, have arisen in the annals of the world; and he forms almost a single instance of a private individual, who has obtained by the voluntary suffrages of a whole nation, a sceptre which descended to his posterity. [g]

CHAP XVI. 1560.

1560—1563. Commencement of Eric's reign.

The incapacity and misconduct of Eric, rather than any depravity of natural disposition, opened a very different scene after the death of Gustavus. The conditions annexed by the new sovereign, to the investiture or surrender of the fiefs, conferred on his three brothers;

[g] Vertot, tome ii. p. 129, 130. Lagerbring, p. 60.

however

CHAP. XVI.

1560—1563.

however just they might be in themselves, and although indispensable for the purpose of retaining them in the rank of subjects; were yet warmly resented by the princes, as an infraction of their father's dying injunctions or bequests.

Dissension between Eric, and John, Duke of Finland.

John, Duke of Finland, retiring to Abo, his capital, began to manifest those symptoms of discontent, which afterwards proceeded to revolt; while at the same time he entered into the closest connexions of policy and affinity with Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, whose sister he married, tho' that princess was not a Protestant, in contradiction to the wishes, and in disobedience to the commands of Eric. This conduct was rendered more improper, if not criminal, by the circumstances which accompanied it. The King of Sweden having recently taken under his protection, and subjected to his crown, the province of Esthonia, which constituted a portion of Livonia claimed by Poland; Sigismund Augustus had demanded it, and attempted to recover it by force of arms. Hostilities commenced between the two kingdoms, which were carried on with alternate success. In such a situation, the alliance of the Duke of Finland with the enemies of Sweden; when added to his refusal to appear at Stockholm, unless hostages were given for his security, produced a rupture between the brothers. John, after sustaining a siege of three months in the castle of Abo, was brought prisoner to Stockholm: his fief was confiscated; and himself, together with all his adherents, were adjudged

Imprisonment of John.

to have incurred the penalty of treason. The sentence was executed in all its rigor, upon many persons of every rank, implicated in the Duke's crimes or misfortunes. After a degree of irresolution on the part of Eric, either his consciousness of the injustice and severity of the proceeding, or the emotions of fraternal affection, induced him nevertheless to mitigate the fate of John; who being conducted with the princess his wife, to the castle of Gripsholm in the interior of Sweden, was there detained in close confinement. [h]

CHAP. XVI. 1560—1563.

While these internal sources of future commotion were generating in the court and family of Eric, appearances not less alarming began to threaten his repose from foreign states. The city of Lubeck, insatiable in its thirst of commercial advantage, and still anxious to retain the monopoly of the Baltic trade, resented the wise and spirited restrictions, which he had imposed upon their navigation and intercourse with Sweden. Incapable of maintaining a contest with that crown, in the declining state of their resources, and incensed at the depredations committed on their shipping, by the subjects of Eric; the Senate of Lubeck applied to Frederic the Second, King of Denmark, to aid them in their projects of vengeance. A war, in which Sweden was compelled to oppose the united forces of Poland, Denmark, and Lubeck, having soon commenced; was maintained with

1563—1567. War with Lubeck, Denmark, and Poland.

[h] Celsius, p. 185—224. Puffendorf, p. 233, 234, and 239.

circum-

CHAP. XVI.

1563—1567.

circumstances of national animosity, which mutually banished every consideration of humanity, during several years. The exertions made by Eric, in the progress of so unequal a contest, strongly prove the state of prosperity and wealth, in which Gustavus had left his dominions. The Swedish fleets covered the Baltic, while their forces repeatedly ravaged Scania, Norway, and the Danish provinces. Even under all the disadvantages resulting from a weak or relaxed administration, divided counsels, and the augmenting violence or alienation of the King's mind, no important conquest was effected by the confederates, either in Livonia, or in Sweden. If we cast a general view over the leading events, we shall find that the Danish superiority by land, was almost invariably balanced by the success of their enemies on the sea. The armies of Frederic, after having repeatedly carried terror and devastation into the interior parts of Sweden, retired, laden with booty: but, these incursions were retaliated by the triumphant and unresisted appearance of the Swedish admiral, at the head of a fleet, in the harbour of Copenhagen; as well as by the numerous captures made from the Danes, and from the inhabitants of Lubeck. In Livonia, Eric even obtained some important advantages over Sigismund Augustus: his troops became masters of the port of Revel, and of the adjoining coast, from which the Poles were unable to expel them; and that fertile province, the granary

Events, and alternate success.

granary of the North, was reduced to his obedience in a considerable degree.[i] CHAP XVI.

No external prosperity or success could, however, restore tranquillity in the court of Stockholm, where the King's frantic excesses spread terror and consternation. Naturally suspicious, his distrust, increasing with years, no longer knew any limit; and in the paroxisms of his jealousy, or of his rage, every object inflamed him beyond the restraints of reason. Animated with peculiar detestation towards the family of Sture, which had given more than one Administrator to Sweden, before the elevation of the house of Vasa to the throne; he determined on their extermination, as well as on the execution of several other obnoxious senators or nobles. The castle of Upsal, in which these illustrious or unfortunate persons were confined, became the scene of Eric's savage and guilty violence. Seized with a sudden privation of his understanding, he burst the doors of the apartment in which Nicholas Sture was imprisoned, and stabbed him with his own hand; while the father and brother of the defenceless victim, together with their companions, being overpowered, were massacred by the guards. History has not disdained to record an action of Sture, almost unparalleled in magnanimity. Eric having plunged the dagger into his arm, he drew it from the wound, wiped the blood

1567. Excesses of the King.

Insanity, and crimes of Eric.

[i] Puffendorf, p. 237, 238, and p. 240—244, and p. 245—256. Lagerbring, p. 60—64. Celsius, livres 5, 6, 7, and 8, passim.

from

CHAP. XVI. 1567.

from off the blade, kissed it, and returned it to the King. So heroic an instance of duty and self-possession, could not however either mollify, or disarm the frantic resentment of his assassin. Pursued by remorse, Eric had no sooner completed his sanguinary purpose, than he fled from Upsal; and during three days, disguised in the dress of a peasant, he concealed himself in the woods. When discovered, and re-conducted to Stockholm, the tumult of his mind and senses having subsided, he displayed not only the most sincere contrition for his past enormities; but he endeavoured to make every compensation in his power, for the involuntary excesses committed during his frenzy.[k]

Consequences of them.

It may justly excite surprize, that after such incontestable proofs of depravity, or of insanity, a high spirited and martial nobility should continue tamely submissive under the caprice of a prince, incapable of governing himself, while his paroxisms of savage fury became fatal to all around him. But, many causes conduced to prolong the reign, and to protract the deposition of Eric. The memory of the great Gustavus, was universally dear to the Swedes: John, the next heir to the crown, was still detained in prison; and even the crimes of the King rather entitled him to compassion, than demanded vengeance, because they proceeded more from intellectual infirmity, than from vice, or cruelty. He had even manifested his intention to abstain

[k] Celsius, p. 121—136. Puffendorf, p. 256, 257.

from

from any further exercise of the functions of royalty, avowed his incapacity, and abandoned his first minister, Pehrson, accused of propelling him on violent measures, to the judgment of a tribunal which condemned him to suffer capital punishment. The government, during this sort of Interregnum, devolved on two Administrators: but, with the return of his intellects, Eric resumed the supreme direction of affairs; and the first use which he made of his reason, was to liberate the Duke of Finland from the state of confinement in which he had been so long detained. The brothers embraced, and exhibited every mark of a sincere reconciliation.[1]

CHAP. XVI. 1567.

Reconciliation of Eric and John.

It was not however possible that affairs could remain long in so critical a state, the Danes having advanced into the interior provinces of the kingdom, which were either left defenceless, or were ill protected by an army destitute of leaders, and discontented. Eric, with his faculties, having recovered his authority, appeared to threaten his subjects with new and even greater excesses. Pehrson not only received a pardon, but was again replaced in his ministerial situation; while the King prepared to solemnize his nuptials, and to place the crown on the head of his mistress. She was the daughter of a peasant in one of the most remote and barbarous provinces of Sweden, who had already borne him two children; the eldest of whom, named Gustavus, he designed to legitimate, and to declare

1568.

Marriage of Eric.

[1] Celsius, p. 136—141. Puffendorf, p. 257—259.

his

CHAP. XVI.

1568. his successor. The ceremony of his marriage was performed at Stockholm, with a solemnity and magnificence, which augmented the general indignation [m]. But the term of Eric's misconduct and mal-administration approached with rapid strides. John, who only waited till the national dissatisfaction should call him from his retreat, was joined by his younger brother, Charles; in whom, of all Gustavus's children, survived the greatest portion of his valour, capacity, and virtues. A numerous body of adherents having flocked to their standard; the King, after vainly attempting to disperse, or to defeat them, retreated to Stockholm. His defence, though protracted to the last extremity, proved ineffectual. After seeing his minister, Pehrson, delivered up to the enemy, and executed with every mark of infamy, under the walls of the captal; Eric was reduced to capitulate, on receiving a promise of gentle treatment. His deposition, which was preceded by a public trial and adjudication before a tribunal convoked at Stockholm, took place in the following year. [n]

His deposition.

1568—1570. Accession of John the Third.

Few princes have ever acceded to a throne, under circumstances more favorable to their reputation, than John the Third. The excesses and crimes of his predecessor, had rendered him odious or contemptible to the nation. Sweden, exhausted by a long series of hostilities, maintained against a powerful confede-

[m] Celsius, p. 141—156. Puffendorf, p. 259—262.
[n] Celsius, livre 10. Puffendorf, p. 262—268.

racy,

racy, had seen her fairest provinces ravaged by the enemy; while the court and capital were filled with consternation. The new monarch was, himself, in the prime of life; of a figure, as well as of manners calculated to engage affection; and cherished by the people, as the favorite son of the great Gustavus. His reign did not, however, by any means gratify the high expectations to which it had given birth. The treatment of the deposed and unfortunate Eric, was marked with the most indecent severity, or rather, inhuman brutality. Transferred from one prison to another; subjected to the extremes of hunger and of cold; abandoned to the ferocity and revenge of those individuals, whom he had personally injured or incensed; degraded by blows and wounds; his wretched fate excited no less compassion than indignation [o]. Far from recovering the national honor, which had suffered some degree of injury, during the progress of the war against the Danes; John, after having obtained from the magnanimity, rather than from the policy, of Frederic the Second, a truce of six months; saw himself reduced either to sign a humiliating treaty, or to try the event of a new campaign. He preferred the latter expedient; but, he found reason to repent of the determination. His arms proved unsuccessful: the only place which Eric had captured from the enemy, in the course of so long and ruinous a contest, was lost; and the

CHAP. XVI. 1568—1570.

His reign.

Continuation of the war.

Peace of Stettin.

[o] Celsius, p. 209—213. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 88—92.

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King finally concluded at Stettin a peace, neither glorious nor beneficial to his subjects. [p]

1570—1574. Truce with Muscovy.

In Livonia, where Ivan Basilowitz, Czar of Muscovy, commenced a war with Sweden, the generals of John obtained some distinguished advantages: but, either they were not improved with ability, or they were not sufficiently decisive, for compelling the Russian prince to desist from his pretensions and continual encroachments. It was with difficulty that he even consented to a suspension of hostilities during two years, between Muscovy and Finland, in which the province of Livonia was not included [q]. But, a circumstance, which more than any external misfortune or disgrace, tended to alienate from John, the esteem and attachment of the Swedes, was his predilection for the Romish faith, and his endeavours to introduce it anew into his dominions. He had imbibed from the Queen his wife, Catherine Jagellon, who was a Catholic, this regard for a religion proscribed by his two predecessors; the triumph over which, had been the most incontestable, as it formed the most arduous and laborious proof, of the vigor and capacity of Gustavus. Persisting thro'out the whole course of his reign, to pursue, with greater, or lesser exertion, the plan of reviving the Catholic doctrines, and form of worship; he permitted his son, Sigismund, to be educated in, and to imbibe a bigotted veneration for them: thus, by so obvious a departure

John attempts to revive the Catholic religion in Sweden.

[p] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 93—112. Puffendorf, p. 268—272.
[q] Puffendorf, p. 273—275.

from

from all the maxims of policy, as well as from the interests of his descendants, laying the foundation of new convulsions in the family of Vasa[r]. These revolutions did not however take place till a period more remote; nor can any circumstance better prove the firm foundations on which Gustavus had erected the grandeur of his house, as well as the degree of respect blended with affection entertained for his memory; than the loyalty and allegiance preserved towards his posterity, in the midst of civil war, heightened by personal and religious animosity. No open attempt was ever made to substitute any other candidate, or to elevate to the throne any subject, while the lineal representatives of Gustavus Vasa remained, to claim the gratitude of the Swedish senate and nation.

CHAP. XVI. 1570—1547.

If any part of the modern annals of Sweden, can be regarded as at least comparatively dark and obscure, it is that portion of time, comprehending above half a century, which intervenes between the accession of Eric the Fourteenth in 1560, and the death of Charles the Ninth in 1611. The exploits of Gustavus Adolphus, the splendor of his conquests, and the rapidity with which he over-ran the German empire; by fixing on him the attention of posterity, have thrown the actions of his four immediate predecessors into the shade. It was not before the Swedes landed in Pomerania, about the year 1629, and obtained a perma-

1574. Obscurity of this period of the Swedish history.

[r] Puffendorf, p. 275—278.

CHAP. XVI.

1574. Defensive alliance between Gustavus, and Francis the First.

nent establishment in the northern provinces of Germany, that they became intimately known to the kingdoms of the south, or were regarded as constituting an integral part of the great political system of Europe. In 1542, when Gustavus Vasa sent embassadors to Francis the First, King of France, with instructions to propose a defensive treaty between the two States, against the house of Austria; that prince and his ministers were so totally ignorant of the state of Sweden, its constitution, power, and resources of every kind, that they not only hesitated, but declined giving any positive answer, till they had been enabled by enquiries, to satisfy themselves respecting these important particulars. Having ascertained that the nation being warlike, the sovereign was capable of making a formidable diversion, Francis immediately concluded the negociation; the two monarchs stipulating to assist each other reciprocally, with twenty-five thousand land forces, and fifty ships[s]. This curious fact demonstrates how imperfect a knowledge of each other, the European powers possessed at that period. But, we do not find that Gustavus sent any assistance, naval, or military, to the French king, when engaged in war almost immediately afterwards, against the Emperor Charles the Fifth. It was found easier to engage, than to execute, at the remote distance of the respective kingdoms; and it seems probable, that neither court meant seriously to

[s] Puffendorf, p. 203. Lagerbring, p. 58. Vertot, p. 120.

fulfil

fulfil the specified conditions. A degree of amity, however, continued to reign between the monarchies, which never became wholly extinguished, in the course of more than two centuries, till the fatal subversion of the Capetian line in the person of Louis the Sixteenth. We find both Gustavus Vasa, and his son Eric, receiving from their allies, Francis the First, and Francis the Second, the collar of knighthood of "St. "Michael[t]." The order of the "Holy Ghost" was not then created, it having been instituted near twenty years later, by Henry the Third.

CHAP. XVI.

1574. Amity of the two courts.

In 1574, the Swedes were still little known or considered, beyond the limits of the Baltic; they being in fact almost cut off from any regular communication with the rest of Europe, as the Danes remained masters of all the southern provinces, by which that connexion is principally maintained. John the Third possessed notwithstanding great resources, which, under a vigorous and popular prince, might be called into speedy and effectual action. The antient revenues of Sweden were sunk so low, that in 1527, Gustavus Vasa asserted before an assembly of the States, their insufficiency to support a body of five hundred cavalry; and he added, that many of the bishops possessed an income superior to the revenue of the crown. The royal receipts amounted only to twenty-four thousand Marks, while the unavoidable annual expences exceeded sixty thousand[u]. But, the

Revenues.

[t] Puffendorf, p. 204.
[u] Lagerbring, p. 49. Vertot, p. 86, 87.

CHAP. XVI. 1574.

resumption of the ecclesiastical property, had rendered the monarchical dignity much more respectable and independant. Gustavus, unlike Christian the Third of Denmark, or Henry the Eighth of England, neither divided those immense spoils with the nobles, nor squandered them on favorites, nor applied them to any public uses and institutions. He annexed them to the crown, as constituting the best support of its authority. We may judge of their magnitude, by the prodigious expences sustained during a number of years, under Eric and John the Third, in the Danish, Muscovite, and Polish wars; which were carried on by sea and land, under very adverse occurrences, without greatly oppressing or exhausting the subject [x]. The marriage portion left by Gustavus, to each of his five daughters, amounted to a hundred thousand crowns; a sum, which even in this age, and in more wealthy monarchies, would not be deemed very inconsiderable [y]. It conveys a vast idea of the treasures and finances of the Swedish King.

Treasures.

Wealth of the clergy.

The revenues and riches of the clergy, anterior to the period of the Reformation, appear to us incredible: two-thirds of the lands of the kingdom are asserted to have been in their possession; some of the Swedish writers hesitating not to say, that near thirty-six thousand estates were united to the royal domain, by Gustavus [z].

[x] Puffendorf, p. 192. [y] Ibid, p. 223.
[z] Vertot, p. 98. Lagerbring, p. 51.

We

We may judge of the enormous and disproportionate wealth which they enjoyed, by the circumstance of Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upsal, having demanded of the Swedish nobles in 1520, the sum of six hundred thousand Marks of silver; as a compensation for the amount of the income of his see, during four years that he had not received his accustomed revenue [a]. It may form matter of reasonable doubt, whether at that period, Sweden contained so large a quantity of current coin. His successor in the Archbishoprick of Upsal, when he made his pastoral visit through the diocese, was usually attended by a train of two hundred officers and followers [b]. Even Olaus Petri, the first Lutheran promoted to the see, retained fifty guards for his escort; which being suppressed, he substituted fifty students in their place. [c]

CHAP. XVI. 1574.

Feudal tenures.

The obligation, imposed by the antient feudal tenures, which compelled every possessor of a fief, in proportion to its extent or value, to attend the sovereign in the field, with a certain number of armed vassals, had nearly become extinct or obsolete, in the beginning of Eric's reign. That prince, in 1562, not without extreme difficulty, and much opposition on the part of the nobility, revived the antient institution, at least in a considerable degree: but the act, which was very unpopular, contributed principally to alienate from him their affec-

[a] Lagerbring, p. 50. Vertot, p. 86.
[b] Lagerbring, p. 51. [c] Ibid. p. 51, 52.

CHAP. XVI.

1574. Military forces.

tions[d]. We even find that when he attempted in the following year, to retain his troops under their standards, and to lead them against the enemy in the month of November, they refused to obey, or to continue longer under arms[e]. Great numbers of Germans and of Scots served in the armies of Sweden: the cavalry was almost entirely composed of the former nation.[f]

Navy.

It is not without astonishment, that we contemplate the vast naval armaments annually equipped by Eric. In 1565, the fleet amounted to fifty sail; and in 1566, it became encreased to sixty-eight vessels of war[g]. The "Makaleus," on board of which commanded the Swedish admiral, Bagge, carried two hundred and twenty-five pieces of brass cannon; but, neither her tonnage, nor her complement of seamen, are precisely specified[h]. Being surrounded by the Danish squadron, she was blown up, after a desperate engagement, off the isle of Oeland, in 1564. Near eight hundred persons perished by the explosion. She was then regarded, as not only the largest ship of war which had ever navigated the Baltic; but, as the finest and most complete in all Europe[i]. When we consider the number of cannon that she carried, and the number of individuals who were blown up in her, it seems probable that she exceeded in dimensions, any vessel then be-

[d] Celsius, p. 189—192.
[e] Ibid, p. 262, 263.
[f] Ibid. tome ii. p. 75, 76.
[g] Ibid. p, 47, and p. 102.
[h] Ibid. p. 9. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 59.
[i] Puffendorf, p. 242. Celsius, tome ii. p. 10—16.

longing

longing either to the French, or to the English crown. Philip the Second unquestionably sent ships of superior size and strength into the British Channel, when he fitted out his "Invincible Armada" against Elizabeth. But that expedition was undertaken in 1688, twenty-four years after the destruction of the "Ma-"kaleus." CHAP. XVI. 1574.

The commerce of Sweden began to emancipate itself from the oppression of the Hanseatic league, under Gustavus; and Eric, whatever defects he manifested in his general administration, demonstrated an anxious desire to encourage the industry, while he extended the trade of his subjects. In 1559, it appears that Stockholm already employed twenty-eight trading vessels; Gefle, a port of the province of Gestricia, towards the frontiers of Lapland, nineteen; Oregrund, a small town of Upland, nine; and the other sea-ports, in proportion [k]. But, in order to form an accurate idea of the extent and importance of the Swedish commerce at this period, we ought to know the quantity of tonnage, as well as the number of sailors who navigated the merchant ships; facts which are not to be found in the contemporary writers. Towards the end of the reign of Gustavus, corn was exported in plentiful years[l]; a circumstance which excites surprize, and seems to prove the abundance, as well as the industry of the Swedes, under the government of that able prince. It must be remembered, that when Commerce.

[k] Lagerbring, p. 53.

[l] Idem, ibid.

Denmark

CHAP. XVI. 1574.

Denmark possessed the three maritime provinces of Halland, Scania, and Bleking, she became mistress of both coasts of the Scaggerac sea, and could completely interdict the passage of the Sound to every European nation. Between the southern frontiers of Norway, and the northern frontiers of Halland, Sweden retained, however, a narrow tract of territory, by which she could still communicate with the German Ocean: in this part of the province of West Gothland, stood the town of Elfsburg, at a small distance from the spot on which has since risen the celebrated and commercial city of Gottenburg. Eric, conscious of the importance of such a port, and anxious to liberate his subjects from their dependance on Denmark, commenced an undertaking which does honor to the extent of his views. He projected, by means of canals, to form a communication between Stockholm and Elfsburg, across the whole kingdom of Sweden; an enterprize, greatly facilitated by the lakes Meler, Hielmar, and Wener. The plan, if it had been executed, might have vied in utility, as well as in grandeur, with the junction of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, performed by Louis the Fourteenth, in the seventeenth century.

Plan for joining the Baltic, and the German Ocean.

So advantageous and enlightened a project, which impresses with a favorable idea of that prince's talents, was prevented from being carried into execution, by the troubles which agitated Eric's reign; but, far from renouncing the idea, he fortified Elfsburg, with an intention

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1574.

System of Trade.

tion of resuming and completing it at a more favorable period[m]. All the productions or commodities of Sweden, at this time, were purchased in their original unwrought state, by the members of the Hanse; and that industrious society, after having manufactured them, derived a vast profit, by selling them again to their first possessors. Eric, in 1561, issued some regulations, calculated to repress, and finally to extinguish a species of commercial intercourse, so systematically injurious to his people. No fact can better demonstrate, that the northern nations began already to embrace sound notions respecting the balance of trade[n]. Many of the laws, enacted and published by Eric, the tendency of which must have been incontestably beneficial, were repealed or annulled by his successor. Such, among others, may be esteemed the establishment of a pecuniary imposition, rated according to the value of estates, in order to enable the crown to provide horses on all the public roads: before his reign, they were furnished by the peasants. Yet, this tax was regarded as no inconsiderable grievance; and John the Third obtained great popularity, by its suppression[o]. So difficult is it found to abrogate any usage sanctioned by long prescription; or to induce the people at large to adopt the most salutary and wholesome regulations, if they are in contradiction to antient prejudice.

Laws and institutions.

[m] Celsius, tome i. p. 130, 131.

[n] Ibid. p. 131, 132.

[o] Ibid. p. 192, 193.

Not-

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1574. Impediments to Swedish commerce, and navigation.

Notwithstanding the judicious precautions embraced by Eric, previous to the commencement of the war with Denmark, in order to open a direct trade with England and France, thro' the port of Elfsburg; the Swedes were reduced to great distress for many articles of necessary consumption, during the continuance of hostilities. Elfsburg was taken by the Danes; and after that event it became impossible to procure any commodity, except by the passage of the Sound, which was completely occupied by Frederic the Second. The Netherlands and Spain, from whence supplies might have been drawn, were in strict alliance with the court of Copenhagen. Holland had not emancipated herself from the yoke of Philip the Second, at this period. Lubeck, as well as the Hanse towns on the coast of Mecklenburg, Wismar, Rostock, and Stralsund, were declared and inveterate enemies of Eric. Among other articles, wine became so extremely scarce, that a sufficient quantity could not be found, even for the celebration of the Sacrament[p]. The Calvinists, headed by the King's preceptor, Denis Bury, a native of France, and sustained by the Bishop of Westeros, declared their opinion, that as the institution itself was only a symbolical and figurative representation, or commemoration of the death of Christ; any other element might be substituted in the place of wine. They recommended water, mead, or even

Scarcity of wine.

[p] Celsius, tome ii. p. 26, 27.

beer.

beer. But, the Archbishop of Upsal, as chief of the Lutheran faith, and of the established religion, opposed the proposition of Bury, which he stigmatized as a dangerous and detestable heresy, not unknown in the early ages of the Christian church. The King imposed silence on the Calvinist prelates and divines; but, their intractable and obstinate adherence to their opinion, produced a general clamor among the clergy and people, which was not easily extinguished. [q]

CHAP. XVI. 1574.

Salt constituted another object of the first necessity, which, from the interruption of commerce, rose more than once to a very high price in Sweden. We may form some judgment of the extensive trade carried on in neutral bottoms, during that period, by the circumstances attending the appearance of Horn, the Swedish admiral, in 1565, off Copenhagen. He found in the harbour, above two hundred and fifty Dutch, or Flemish vessels, all laden with grain. He did not, however, make prize of them; but, contented himself with exacting from each ship, the duty paid on the passage of the Sound, to the crown of Denmark [r]. Horn returned again in the ensuing year, when near four hundred merchant ships, laden principally with salt and corn, lay there at anchor, under the protection of a combined squadron of Danish and Lubeck vessels of war. In defiance of their united force, he exacted and received the customary duty

Trade of the neutral powers in the Baltic.

[q] Celsius, tome ii. p. 25—31.

[r] Ibid. p. 50.

from

CHAP. XVI. 1574.

from all the ships belonging to the neutral Baltic powers; and he captured full two hundred sail, which he conducted safely into the ports of Sweden. [s]

Arts and manufactures.

Towards the commencement of Eric's reign, arts and manufactures were established of various kinds. A fabrick for saltpetre was begun; and another of fire-arms, was founded at Calmar. Gallies for the transport of grain from one sea-port to another, were constructed by order of government. The important science of ship-building received great encouragement. Foreigners, capable of instructing the Swedish youth in that branch of knowledge, were invited to Stockholm, and liberally rewarded [t]. It ought not to be omitted, in the list of institutions which mark the progress of society and the humanizing arts, that hospitals for the reception and cure of the wounded, were formed by Eric in 1566, during the war carried on against the Danes, in the two provinces of Smaland and West Gothland. [u]

Treatment of captives.

If in this regulation we trace a degree of liberality, together with an attention to alleviate the calamities inseparable from war; we equally perceive all the barbarism and ferocity of the Gothic nations, in their treatment of the unhappy prisoners taken in battle. Bagge, the Swedish Admiral, after the loss of his ship in 1564, when he himself fell into the hands of

[s] Celsius, tome ii. p. 103, 104.
[t] Ibid. p. 193, 194.
[u] Ibid. p. 80.

the

the enemy; wrote to Eric, to acquaint him that the conquerors had bound a great number of the Swedish captives to the side of a trading ship, and then set her on fire. He added, that the bodies of these miserable victims, which had not been reduced to ashes, were left to float on the waves; so cruel an act having been committed, in retaliation for the treatment experienced by the Danes in Sweden. [x]

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1574.

Ferocity in war.

During the preceding year, Brockenhusen, the Danish naval commander, by an opposite chance of war, had been made prisoner, and carried to Stockholm. Eric, who affected magnificence, and loved exhibitions of splendor, granted Bagge the honors of a triumph. It may convey an idea of the taste and manners of the age, to describe the nature of the ceremony. The Admiral came first, accompanied by two Barons, wearing across his shoulders, a gold chain; all the officers who had been present in the engagement, following, dressed in brocade. Lastly, marched Brockenhusen himself, attended by his unfortunate countrymen: they were bareheaded, carrying white staves in their hands. The court buffoon, named Hercules, preceded them, playing on the violin. The triumphal procession crossed the capital, from the vessels, to the castles [y]. It must be owned, that the difference was very wide, between this naval exhibition in the capital of Scandinavia, and the triumphs of Paulus Emi-

Triumph of the Swedish Admiral.

[x] Celsius, tome ii. p. 17.

[y] Ibid. tome i. p. 242. Note. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 48.

lius,

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lius, or of Marius, in antient Rome, thro' the Forum, to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

1574. Introduction of titles.

Eric had already displayed his passion for spectacles of pomp and shew, at his coronation in 1561. He then first introduced among his subjects, the titles of *Count* and *Baron;* titles unknown before in Sweden, as hereditary dignities. Three noblemen were raised to the first, and ten to the last rank, with extraordinary solemnity; Coronets of different figures being placed on their heads, by the King himself. Twenty-two gentlemen received afterwards the honor of knighthood; to each of whom Eric said, on touching them over the shoulder with his sword, "Thou wast a Pagan; thou art become a Chris-"tian, and I create thee a knight[z]." It is by no means undeserving of remark, as it strongly proves the superiority arrogated by, and allowed to the class of nobility in that age; that when Eric proposed to knight the Syndic of Lubeck, and the Burgrave of Dantzic, they excused themselves from accepting such a distinction, as unbecoming their condition of citizens. But, the King persisting, and declaring in their presence, that merit and capacity such as theirs, merited the title of *Knight*, in whatever rank of society they were found; the two magistrates desisting from their reluctance, accepted the dignity of knighthood[a]. Yet in 1563, when Frederic the Second, King of Denmark, sent an herald to declare war on Sweden, Eric re-

Knighthood.

[z] Celsius, tome i. p. 98—102. [a] Ibid. p. 102, 103.

ceived him seated on his throne, and surrounded by the principal nobles. But the envoys or messengers of Lubeck, who came to announce the same hostile intentions on the part of that powerful and opulent city, were not even admitted to the royal presence: they were sent to the corporation of Stockholm, to relate their errand. [b]

1574.

Arts. Medals.

Eric the Fourteenth, and Frederic the Second, each, struck medals commemorative of the principal events which distinguished their reigns; but, with this difference, that the former prince seemed only desirous to perpetuate the remembrance of his coronation, or his marriage. The Danish monarch on the contrary, wished to immortalize the victories gained over the enemies of the State [c]. Eric, previous to his nuptials with Catherine, his mistress, solemnly conferred on her the privilege of bearing arms; and when she received the crown from the Archbishop of Upsal, proclamation was made, that she and her children had been already raised to the rank of nobility [d]. So indispensable did that ceremony appear, to precede her still higher elevation to the throne. The medallion, struck on the occasion, represented on one side, the effigy of the King, together with his name; and on the reverse appeared a sceptre descending from the skies, which was received by a woman. [e]

[b] Celsius, tome i. p. 250—252.
[c] Ibid. tome ii. p. 155, 156. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 87, note.
[d] Celsius, tome ii. p. 155, 156. [e] Idem. Ibid.

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1574.

Luxury.

The arts appertaining to luxury, had not made a rapid progress, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, among the Swedes. In 1560, Eric, who was then preparing for his voyage to England, anxious to present himself before Elizabeth, with a suitable splendor, dispatched his master of the wardrobe, to Antwerp, in order to purchase the most superb embroideries and dresses that could be procured[f]. That city, before the insurrection of the Flemings against Philip the Second, was without comparison the most opulent and commercial place in the north of Europe. Paris did not assume the pre-eminence in modes and fashion, before the time of Louis the Fourteenth. Eric afterwards caused a new and magnificent crown, with other royal ornaments, to be prepared at Antwerp, for his coronation[g]. Flanders had then attained to the highest point of industry and wealth; but Philip soon banished commerce and manufactures, when he attempted to infringe the civil and ecclesiastical immunities of the Flemings.

Letters.

If the elegant arts had not yet penetrated beyond the Baltic, letters and philosophy were still less known or cultivated in those polar regions. In the list of Eric's officers of the Court of Chancery, we find nevertheless, a person who bore the title of Historiographer: he was a native of France, by name Peter Marsilly[h]. But, true history had not arisen at this period.

[f] Celsius, tome i. p. 36. [g] Ibid. p. 73, 74.

[h] Ibid. p. 139.

Even

Even many years afterwards, so little progress had pharmacy or physic made in Sweden, that the death of John the Third was generally believed to have been caused by the ignorance of the apothecaries, and the want of every sort of proper medicinal drugs. Siberia labored under similar deficiencies, not a century ago. Prince Menzikoff, who was banished to Berosova about the year 1728, expired of an apoplectic seizure, because neither a surgeon, nor a lancet were to be procured in that uncultivated and savage region. Physicians, strictly so denominated, were unknown among the Swedes, before the beginning of the seventeenth century[i]. Many persons, at whose head we may place the ingenious author of "Gil Blas," would not, however, have ranked this circumstance among the national calamities.

CHAP. XVI. 1574.

[i] Puffendorf, p. 287.

CHAP. XVII.

RUSSIA.

Review of the Muscovite history, from the accession of John Basilowitz. — Conquest of the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan. — Ravages of Livonia. — Destruction of Novogrod. — Cruelties of John. — Comparison of that prince with Peter the First. — State of Muscovy in 1574. — Unlimited power of the Czars. — Revenues. — State of military knowledge. — Navigation and commerce. — Manufactures. — Mode of building. — Introduction and encouragement of the Arts. — Letters. — Tolerance in religion. — Manners. — Servitude of the peasants. — Architecture.

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Recent appearance of Russia, among the European monarchies.

THE very existence of Russia, under the denomination of Muscovy, was scarcely known to the western nations of Europe, before the beginning of the sixteenth century. That powerful empire, which, conducted by Peter the First, has made the most rapid progress in civilization, and has bereaved Sweden of her fairest provinces; which, since his death, governed by four successive empresses, carried her arms into the center of Germany; reduced Poland nearly to the condition of a province, previous to the final extinction of that unfortunate Republic; and after a series of victories gained on the banks of the Don, the Niester, and the Danube, has menaced the total subversion of the

the Ottoman power, so long formidable to Europe;—that monarchy, previous to the year 1550, could only be regarded as a barbarous portion of Asia. Surrounded on the south and east, by the Tartar kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, or by ferocious Hordes of Calmucks; pressed on the west, by the Republic of Poland; not yet mistress of Siberia; and almost destitute of any communication with the Baltic; the Muscovites, immersed in ignorance, were equally unacquainted with arts or commerce. But, this apparently torpid mass, required only the energy of an ambitious and capable sovereign, to awaken and propel it to action.

Accession of John Basilowitz.

The accession of John the Fourth, commonly known by the name of John Basilowitz, was the æra from which we may date the rising greatness of Russia. That prince, at a very early period of life betrayed the vigor and capacity, as well as the ferocity and violence, which have rendered his reign a mixture of illustrious atchievements, contrasted with the most revolting barbarities. He had scarcely emancipated himself from the restraints imposed on his childhood and minority, when his active mind already planned the conquest and subversion of the Tartar kingdoms; by which Russia had been antiently enslaved, and which, although in a state of declension, still remained objects of apprehension. The kingdom of Casan, from its vicinity to Moscow, as well as from the riches and grandeur of its capital, formed the first object of his attention; and

1534.

He plans the conquest of Casan.

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1545. the internal dissensions by which it was agitated, proved highly favorable to the ambitious projects of the Czar. But, conscious that by a superiority in military discipline alone, he could hope to vanquish enemies so numerous and powerful, he began to form a body of forces, which might facilitate the undertaking, and enable him to commence his operations with success. The Russians, previous to his accession, neither knew the institution of troops regularly paid and retained; nor the use of fire-arms. John introduced both these improvements into his dominions. The celebrated body of soldiers, distinguished by the appellation of "Strelitzes," which were afterwards broke by Peter the First, owed their formation to the policy of the Czar; and were highly instrumental in contributing to the victories by which his reign was distinguished. [a]

Institution of the Strelitzes.

1546—1551. Notwithstanding these wise and vigorous preparations, sustained by the personal and unwearied efforts of John, the conquest of Casan was attended with almost insuperable difficulties. Even the decease of their sovereign, Sapha Guerai, and the disorders inseparable from a minority, did not induce the Tartars to abandon their own independance. The Russians, repeatedly defeated, were compelled to raise the siege with loss and dishonor; while Jediguer, son to the Sultan of Astracan, who was elected to fill the vacant throne, prepared

[a] Histoire de Russie, par l'Evesque, vol. ii. p. 419—422. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 121.

to

to support the utmost hardships, and to meet every danger, in support of his newly-acquired dominions. But, the Czar, instructed by his past errors, and having already made the most able dispositions for securing his ultimate success, renewed the attack. During the memorable siege of Casan, which lasted several months, all the science of war known in that age, was exerted and exhausted in the Muscovite camp. A mine, which was sprung with effect, preceded and facilitated the storm, by which the city was at length carried, not without the most desperate resistance on the part of the besieged. Jediguer himself, after falling into the hands of the conqueror, was sent to Moscow, where he entered into the service of John, by whom he had been deposed. His subjects, unsubdued by the loss of the capital, and the capture of their prince, continued to maintain an unequal contest against the Russians, for near six years; and were not reduced to obedience, till they had severely revenged on their oppressors, the calamities under which they finally sunk. [b]

1546—1551. Siege of Casan.

Capture of the city.

Animated by the fortunate issue of his late enterprize, and preceded by the terror which that important acquisition had spread among all the Tartar tribes, John proceeded to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Astracan. It was effected with as much facility, as the siege of Casan had proved difficult and laborious. An army of thirty thousand men, provided with a formidable artillery, having de-

1553. Conquest of Astracan.

[b] Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 422—449.

CHAP. XVII. 1553.

scended the river Wolga, found Astracan deserted on their approach. The Khan of the Crimea made an ineffectual attempt to prolong the destiny of his countrymen, and to prop the religion of Mahomet; but he was vanquished; and the Czar returned to Moscow, after having completely destroyed the antient grandeur of the Tartar nations on the Don and the Wolga, which for many ages had menaced the independance, and even the existence of Russia[c].

Similarity of the Muscovite, and Spanish history.

In the perusal of this interesting period of the Muscovite annals, and in contemplating the expulsion, or rather reduction of the Tartars; we trace the same causes, as leading to so great an event, and we behold nearly similar consequences arising from it, with those that accompanied and followed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, about sixty years earlier, under Ferdinand and Isabella. In both, intestine jealousies, and a disputed title, opened the way to their destruction. Like Ferdinand of Arragon, John constructed a temporary city, in order to facilitate the capture of Casan, which capital was defended with the same valor as Granada. The Mahometan faith was alike subverted, in both instances, by the Christian religion; while from those memorable Epochas, we may equally date the rapid political elevation of Spain, and of Russia, placed at the two extremities of Europe.

War with Sweden.

It is not without some degree of admiration mingled with astonishment, that after thus view-

[c] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122. Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 449—453.

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CHAP. XVII. 1554—1557.

ing the progress of the Russian arms on the banks of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, we find them instantly transferred across all Muscovy, with equal success, to the Polar regions, and occupied against the Swedes in the sixtieth degree of northern latitude. Gustavus Vasa, having at the solicitation of the Poles, invaded Carelia, a province situate near the northern extremity of the Gulf of Finland; in violation of the truce subsisting with John; was repulsed by the Muscovites, and compelled to renew the treaty: while the Czar, victorious over his numerous enemies, already prepared to improve his advantages, by the attack and subjection of Livonia [d]. We see therefore that John Basilowitz was animated by the same systematic views of policy, by the same desire to establish himself on the coast of the Baltic, and the same wish to become by that means a component member of the European Republic, which impelled Peter the First in all his conduct, a century and a half later. The possession of Livonia could in fact alone give to the Czars, a decisive preponderance on the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, together with the command of the river Duna. That beautiful and fertile province remained still subject, as it had been for ages, to the Teutonic knights, when the Russians entered it. John having captured Narva, the capital of Ingria, continued his progress, which was marked by the most brutal excesses. Furstemberg,

John Basilowitz attacks Livonia.

[d] Puffendorf, p. 223. Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 454—456.

Grand

CHAP. XVII.

1558—1562.

Grand Master of the Teutonic order, having been taken prisoner, and conducted to Moscow; Kettler, his successor, terrified at the approach of the Muscovite troops, and incapable of resistance, hastened to resign Livonia to Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland; reserving only for himself the two dependant duchies of Courland and Semigallia, as hereditary fiefs [e]. Far, however, from thereby adducing a remedy to the evil, the resignation made by Kettler, tended rather to augment the calamities under which the Livonians suffered. The city of Revel, together with a considerable part of the province, invoked, and received the protection of Sweden; while Magnus, Duke of Holstein, brother to Frederic the Second, King of Denmark, purchased the isle of Oesel, lying off the coast, and its dependencies; by means of which possession, he hoped to attain ultimately the sovereignty of Livonia [f]. Alternately ravaged by these four contending powers, that unfortunate country became during a number of years, a prey to misfortunes of every kind: nor was it till a considerably later period than we are reviewing, that John Basilowitz, compelled by foreign and domestic losses or defeats, consented to renounce his pretensions, and to abandon his acquisitions in Livonia.

Ravages committed in that province.

1562—1568. Enormities of John.

This part of his reign was peculiarly marked by acts of cruelty and ferocity, which are in a great measure unknown to the history of the

[e] Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 456—468.

[f] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 29—37. Celsius, tome i. p. 185—188. Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 468, 469.

most barbarous nations; the parallel of which can only be found among the tyrants of antiquity. In reading the flagitious enormities of John, we are divided between incredulity, horror, and disgust, while we see the crimes of those monsters who insulted or trampled on the Roman senate and people, exceeded by the Muscovite prince. His stern and savage temper had, during many years, been mollified or subdued by the virtues of the Czarina; but her death withdrew the only restraint which could mitigate its fury. After affecting, like Sylla, whom he surpassed in cruelty, a species of voluntary abdication, and retiring from Moscow for a considerable time, he again resumed the supreme direction of public affairs. Irritated at the attachment which the city of Novogrod had manifested towards the crown of Poland, he exercised on that devoted place, an act of vengeance, far exceeding the massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, by order of the Emperor Theodosius; and which may vie with the destruction of the inhabitants of Alexandria, by Caracalla; or with those of Lyons, by Collot d'Herbois, in our own times.

Wealth and commerce of Novogrod.

Novogrod, situate on the frontier of Muscovy, near the confines of Lithuania and Livonia, was esteemed the most flourishing, as well as commercial city of the empire; and after Moscow, the most populous. It had during many ages, constituted the only mart, by which the productions of Europe were exchanged for the commodities of Russia; and its antiquity ascended to the most remote times. On a suspicion,

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cion, which if not groundless, was by no means clearly ascertained, that the citizens had held a treasonable correspondence with the Poles; the Czar, accompanied by his eldest son, having repaired thither in person, abandoned them to the rage of his guards and soldiery. The defenceless and unresisting inhabitants were massacred, or precipitated into the river, in crouds; the carnage lasting five weeks, without intermission. It was not an impulse of sudden rage, but, of deliberate and systematical resentment, which it may be difficult to compare with any event in modern history, previous to the French Revolution, except the massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris, acted almost at the same time. John had the inhumanity to cause the ice of the Volkhof, on which river Novogrod stands, to be broken, in order to drown the victims of his fury; not the slightest attempt at resistance appearing to have been made, during the continuance of so long and unprovoked a slaughter. The city, desolated and depopulated, never recovered its former lustre, and has gradually diminished to a mean, insignificant village.[s]

1569. Massacre of the inhabitants.

1570.

1571—1574. Passive submission of the Muscovites.

After this scene of horror, we might naturally expect that the Czar, satiated with blood, would have at least suspended his further violence; but Moscow was destined to renew the scene performed at Novogrod. It is difficult to determine, whether we should most admire the silent and prostrate submission of a whole empire, to the

[s] Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 478—483. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122.

san-

sanguinary mandates of such a tyrant; or most detest the despotism, which was employed only for the purposes of extermination. The state of degradation and debasement, in which the human mind was sunk among a people, where not one individual was found to oppose or arrest the vengeance of a monster armed with supreme power, forms not the least wonderful object of reflexion; while it stands strikingly opposed to the generous character of antient Greece, or Rome, even in their most depraved and abject condition. Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and Commodus, all perished in the same manner, when the patience of their subjects became exhausted. The Muscovites of the sixteenth century, by the testimony of their own countrymen, were incapable of political freedom, destitute of elevation or liberality, only sensible to injuries, oppression, and tyranny. It is more therefore in the genius of the nation, than in the character of the monarch, that we are to seek the cause of so many deliberate acts of brutal ferocity: and if the intractable or debased nature of the people cannot extenuate the cruelties of their sovereign, it may at least explain, as well as account for their extent and magnitude. In perusing the description of the executions and punishments inflicted by the Czar at Moscow, for the real, or supposed defection of the inhabitants; we may conceive ourselves transported to the most savage countries of Africa, or of America. John was not merely the exterminator; he acted likewise as the executioner of his own people; his vengeance seeming to delight

CHAP. XVII. 1571—1574.

Executions at Moscow.

CHAP. XVII. 1571—1574.

delight in every refinement of cruelty, by which their sufferings were heightened or prolonged. It must be admitted, that if these continual scenes of destruction could not shake the foundations of his authority, or awaken to resentment a nation framed for slavery; they yet tended to diminish the opulence, commerce, and population of Muscovy. The destruction of Novogrod was a severe and irremediable blow to the trade of all the western provinces, which remained long in a state of languor and decline.[h]

Comparison between John, and Peter the First.

Notwithstanding the barbarities by which the reign of John Basilowitz is polluted and deformed, it would be unjust not to recognize with the applause which they demand, his enlarged and expanded principles of government. It may even be asserted without a violation of truth, that he bore, in many of the leading features which characterize his administration and policy, as well as in the shades and vices of his private conduct, an intimate resemblance to that illustrious person, who has merited the admiration of mankind, beyond any prince of the age in which he lived; on whom, by the unanimous consent of his contemporaries, was conferred the title of "Great." Peter the First may be said only to have matured and perfected the plan, which was conceived and commenced by John. The same desire to reform and ameliorate the barbarous jurisprudence of the nation; the same atten-

[h] Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 483—488.

tion

tion to encourage commerce, to animate industry, and to open sources of advantage to their subjects; similar efforts for attracting foreigners to the capital, and to humanize the Muscovites by their intercourse; equally distinguish the two princes. Military discipline, and the formation of a powerful body of regular forces, occupied each sovereign, at the beginning of their reigns. Peter did not more passionately desire, nor more anxiously prosecute the conquest of Livonia, as a province which might facilitate his passage to the Baltic, than did John. But, the circumstances were more favourable to Peter, and he profited of them with greater dexterity than his predecessor. John, tho' he over-ran, only desolated Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia: Peter, more magnanimous, wise, and fortunate, not only subjected, but retained those valuable countries, finally transmitting them to his descendants. In all points he is superior to John; but in no respect perhaps more so, than in the circumstance of his being born during a period, when light and science were generally diffused. Europe, in the sixteenth century, was not yet sufficiently polished, nor capable of affording to a barbarous nation, that variety of assistance, which the conclusion of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth century, offered to the Czar. If, from considering their virtues and endowments, we turn our view to the defects and crimes of the two monarchs, we shall find the similarity yet more striking between them. Peter, like John, was addicted to the characteristic vices of the Muscovites; intoxication,

CHAP. XVII. 1571—1574.

Similarity of their views and projects.

Resemblance of their vices.

CHAP XVII.

1571—1574.

cation, brutality, and cruelty. His reign and life afford too many proofs of this melancholy assertion; and he owned, that he could more easily reform his people, than command himself. Each, in their paroxisms of rage, was sanguinary and terrible: each, even in those moments of fury, was yet capable of being soothed or softened by their wives. In one circumstance, the unfortunate resemblance becomes still closer; namely, that both sovereigns put to death their son and successor: but John, who inflicted a wound during the transports of his anger, which proved mortal; seems to form far more an object of pardon or compassion, than the Czar Peter, who premeditately and systematically deprived the Czarowitz Alexis of his life, from motives rather political than personal.

1574. State of the Russian empire.

There is no period of the Russian history, anterior to the accession of Peter the Great, which merits equal attention with the reign of John Basilowitz. It may be considered as the æra, when that vast empire began first to emerge from barbarism; and the troubles, or rather revolutions, by which it was agitated soon after his decease, impeded, while they retarded its advances in power, wealth, and civilization, for above a century. Under John, the Russians neither enjoyed, nor perhaps even aspired to possess any political constitution.

Despotism of the Czars.

Never was despotism more unlimited, than the authority exercised by him, over the lives, liberties, and property of his subjects; nor was any order of them exempt from its severity.

Louis

Louis the Eleventh in France, and Henry the Eighth in England, the two most tyrannical princes who have reigned in those countries, tho' they committed many acts of despotism, oppression, and cruelty, yet were restrained within certain limits. But John Basilowitz united in some measure, both the pontifical and kingly power, in his own person. Even the veneration paid to the character and office of the Metropolitans of the Greek, or Russian church, imposed no restraint on his arbitrary disposition. He deposed, imprisoned, and condemned them at pleasure, with every circumstance of ignominy[i]. The nobility, princes, even the persons allied to him by blood, became equally the victims of his caprice, rage, or apprehension. Yet, in the formation of a code of laws for the government of the empire, he assembled the deputies of the nobility, demanded their advice, and conformed himself to it, in the regulations which he promulgated[k]. We cannot, however, entertain a very exalted idea of this system of jurisprudence, framed in 1550, when we find that judicial combats, or appeals to the interposition of Heaven, remained still permitted by it, at a time when those institutions of barbarism were either abolished, or fallen into disuse, thro'out almost all the other states of Europe.[l]

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It was found as difficult to assign any limit to the revenues, as to the prerogatives of the Czar. Revenues.

[i] Lesvesque, vol. iii. p. 58, 59.
[k] Ibid. p. 45.
[l] Ibid. p. 46.

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Besides the immediate domain of the crown, and the impositions levied from the people, John possessed other modes of amassing treasures. Confiscations formed a principal source; several of the highest class of the nobility being seized, and put to death, in order to obtain their vast estates. Numbers of the inferior vassals, who were commonly implicated in the guilt, shared the fate of their chief, on these occasions [m]. Almost all the gold and silver brought into his dominions by trade, was gradually drawn into the treasury of John; and when he invaded Livonia, he carried off every thing valuable, without sparing even the plate, or the sacred ornaments of the churches. The ransom of prisoners, or the necessary disbursements made for levying foreign troops, were the only occasions and objects, which induced him to permit the distribution and expenditure of his treasures. Leather money was used in the common intercourse of life, by the inferior orders of the people [n]. The Muscovites did not possess a single ship of war, under John Basilowitz: it was reserved for the genius of Peter the First, to transfer the capital from Moscow, more than four hundred miles north, to the banks of the Gulf of Finland, at the same time that he created a formidable navy. Even the military force of Russia in 1574, however superior it might be to the undisciplined and tumultuary assemblage of vassals,

Confiscations.

Military forces.

[m] Lesvesque, vol. iii. p. 60, 61.

[n] Idem, ibid.

which

which constituted their armies in earlier periods, was altogether deficient in the knowledge of war. The science of fortification, and the art of attacking or defending cities, was still less cultivated; but in passive and invincible courage, the Russian soldier ceded to none in Europe[o]. It is not unworthy of remark, that cannon were cast at Moscow as early as 1482, by an Italian engineer, named Aristoteli de Bologna, under the reign of Ivan the Third: they were even employed in that year, against the town of Felling in Livonia; while the Swedes do not appear to have made use of artillery till thirteen years afterwards, about 1495[p]. At the memorable siege of Casan in 1552, the Czar's physician acted in the capacity of principal engineer, and prepared the mine, by means of which a breach was made in the walls of the city[q]. After the beginning of the sixteenth century, the use of cannon became general among the northern nations: at the capture of Narva by the Muscovites, in 1558, they found in the place, two hundred and thirty pieces of artillery, of different sizes and dimensions.[r]

CHAP. XVII. 1574. Artillery.

In the distinguished protection which John Basilowitz granted to commerce, we trace the extent of his views for augmenting his own greatness, and the wealth of his subjects. Tho' he did not, like his successor Peter, remove his

Commerce.

[o] Lesvesque, vol. iii. p. 52—54.
[p] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 358.
[q] Ibid. p. 444.
[r] Ibid. p. 462.

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capital and residence to the Gulf of Finland; yet no sooner had he gained possession of Narva in 1558, than he used every means to attract thither the trade of the Baltic; and he succeeded beyond his expectations. The Dutch, French, and English, as well as the inhabitants of Lubeck, repaired to Narva, notwithstanding the prohibitions issued by the Emperor Ferdinand the First, at the solicitation of the grand master of the Teutonic knights of Livonia [s].

Navigation of the northern sea.

Some years before this event, in 1553, the English had opened a new and unknown channel of trade, by the discovery of a passage round the North Cape, to the Icy Sea. They landed near the mouth of the river Dwina, at a monastery named St. Nicholas, not far from the spot where has since been constructed the city of Archangel. Having been conducted across Muscovy, to the capital, they were treated by John with extraordinary attention [t]. In 1554, two more English vessels attempted the same voyage; but, being surrounded by the ice, could not reach their destination. The crews perished by the severity of the climate; and when the ships were descried by the Russians, no person remained alive. Yet, to the honor of their national character, a faithful account was rendered of all the merchandize or effects, contained on board the vessels. The Czar, anxious to cultivate a connexion with England, sent an embassy to Mary, who then filled the throne [u].

[s] Lesvesque, vol. iii. p. 49.
[t] Ibid. p. 47, 48.
[u] Idem, Ibid.

He

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1574. Alliance between John, and Elizabeth, Queen of England.

He even entered into closer ties of amity, private and political, with her successor, Elizabeth; and however singular it may appear, the two sovereigns stipulated to grant each other a mutual asylum in their respective dominions, in case of necessity. The English Queen obtained from her new ally, an exclusive patent in favor of her subjects, for the whole trade of Muscovy, which, before 1570 began to encrease very rapidly. The Czar did not even hesitate to demand an English lady in marriage, in order still more strongly to cement the political union; and Elizabeth meant to have selected the Lady Anne Hastings, daughter to the Earl of Huntingdon, for the future Czarina: but justly terrified at the character of her Muscovite lover, and at the accounts which she had received of the barbarism of his country and subjects, she declined the dangerous honor of reigning in Russia.[x]

Actuated by rivality and jealousy, at the progress which John Basilowitz made towards establishing a commercial intercourse with the European nations, by means of Narva and of Archangel, Gustavus Vasa attempted to impede its further advance. He endeavoured to inspire the court of Copenhagen with apprehensions; and he remonstrated with the Queen of England; but, equally without effect. Elizabeth promised to prevent her people from selling arms to the Russians; but, she refused to

[x] Camden's Life of Elizab. p. 408, and 418, and p. 493.

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limit them upon any other article, or object of commerce[y]. Notwithstanding the anxiety manifested by John, to facilitate and to augment the trade of Muscovy, it lay under numerous impediments, resulting from the barbarous customs and prejudices of the age, or of the country. No foreigners, except Poles and Lithuanians, were allowed to visit Moscow, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile transactions; by which injudicious prohibition, the advantages obviously resulting from a concurrence of dealers, were sacrificed. The Czar pretended and enforced likewise, a right of pre-emption for himself, which was highly vexatious, as well as inimical to the genius of commerce. Above all, his inhuman treatment of Novogrod, and the consequent decline of that opulent, no less than industrious city, produced effects the most ruinous to his own projects.[z]

1574. Impediments to trade in Muscovy.

Manufactures. Arts.

Every article of elegance or of luxury, known in Russia during the sixteenth century, was imported from strangers; their own manufactures being few, rude, and homely. Coarse cloth, linen, and leather, were indeed fabricated or prepared with some degree of skill; and the number of their exports was far more considerable than it might be natural to suppose, from the state of depression, or of barbarism, in which the nation remained. Furs, wax, salt, iron, timber, and even corn, were largely exported to most of the European king-

[y] Lesvesque, vol. iii. p. 48, 49.

[z] Ibid. p. 98, 99.

doms,

doms, under the reign of John[a]. Besides these objects, a great and important traffic was carried on from the interior provinces, with the Tartar nations; even as far as Bocharia and Persia. Caravans arrived frequently in the Russian metropolis, from all the provinces lying to the south and east of the Caspian Sea[b]. Moscow, a capital almost entirely constructed of wood, became consequently subject to continual, and most destructive ravages by fire. In 1547, two successive conflagrations laid it in ashes: the palace of the Czars; the Bazar, or assemblage of shops, which, as in all Asiatic towns, was collected in one place; together with every edifice of consequence, shared the general ruin. Near two thousand persons were supposed to have perished in the flames[c]. A still greater calamity befel Moscow in 1571, at the precise time when John was preparing to march into Livonia. The Tartars of the Crimea, instigated by Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, having made an irruption into Muscovy, penetrated to the capital, and set fire to the suburbs. A high wind aiding the flames, they gained the powder magazine, which exploding, involved in its destruction a great part of the city. Seventy thousand people, of both sexes, were massacred or burnt in this expedition of the Tartars[d]. Moscow, tho' recently

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Conflagrations at Moscow.

[a] Lesvesque, vol. iii. p. 49, 50 [b] Ibid. p. 50, 51, and p. 100.
[c] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 412—414.
[d] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122. Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 492, 493.

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involved in similar destruction, has attained to the most glorious celebrity in modern history, as the ultimate limit of Bonaparte's desolating career, and as the point from which we may date his shame, disgrace, and downfall.

Mode of constructing towns with wood.

Some conveniences were, notwithstanding, annexed to the mode of building with wood, which counterbalanced in certain cases, the disasters to which it became liable. The ease and expedition with which not only houses and palaces, but even towns were raised in Muscovy, excite admiration. The most extraordinary instance of this invention, was exhibited by order of the Czar, in 1551, previous to the siege of Casan. In order to facilitate the approaches to the city, he took possession of a spot, at the distance of five leagues from it, where the river Sviaga falls into the Wolga. Having caused a number of trees to be prepared for building, and then transported by water to the place, he arrived unmolested, and began instantly to fabricate a town. So dextrous were the workmen, and such incredible celerity was exerted, that in the space of a month, a wooden city was completely finished. A principal church, six inferior or smaller places of worship, and a monastery, were included within its limits. Noblemen, merchants, and persons of every rank, raised houses at their own expence. The place, named Sviasjk, was of a very considerable size; and contributed eminently, by the accommodations which it afforded to the Russian army, to the prosperous conclusion of the enterprize against

Sviasjk.

against Casan [e]. Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, had in like manner constructed the town of Santafé, near a century earlier, while occupied in the memorable siege of Granada. CHAP. XVII. 1574.

Before the year 1500, Ivan the Third, Great Prince of Muscovy, had already endeavoured, not without success, to attract strangers, artists, and workmen of various descriptions, to Moscow. Several Italians of talents, induced by the hopes of reward and encouragement, had visited that remote and barbarous metropolis [f]. But, John Basilowitz made far greater efforts to introduce arts, manufactures, and civilization among his subjects. He allured persons from England; with which country, during his whole reign, he appears to have maintained a close communication. A colony, composed of near three hundred manufacturers, assembled from the different states of Europe, which was ready to embark from Lubeck, for Narva, was prevented by the Livonians, from accomplishing their design [g]. In this enterprize, tho' unsuccessful, he evidently marked out the line of policy which Peter the Great afterwards adopted, improved, and carried into complete execution. John formed in all respects his prototype and model for the introduction of civilization, trade, and arts, among the Russians. To John, is due the introduction of the art of printing into Muscovy. Impelled

Encouragement given to foreign artists.

Art of printing.

[e] Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 429, 430.
[f] Ibid. p. 358.
[g] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 47, and p. 54, 55.

rather

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rather by motives of devotion, than from the enlarged desire of propagating knowledge, he rendered this service to his people. The clergy were sunk in such profound ignorance; that it is asserted by contemporary authors, thro'out the vast extent of John's dominions, only three ecclesiastics understood the Latin language. A circumstance still more singular, among a people, and in a church which observed the Greek ritual, is that not a single priest could read or comprehend the Greek language[h]. The first work printed by order of the Czar, under the inspection of a Russian deacon, was a translation of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles. It was begun in April, 1563, and remained near a year in the press; not being finished before March, 1564.[i]

Toleration of the Czars.

Such was the detestation in which the Romish religion was held by the Muscovites, that they conceived themselves to be polluted by any intercourse with persons who held that faith; and even the Czars, when they gave audience to embassadors, in which ceremony they presented the hand, always washed it immediately afterwards, in a golden bason[k]. Yet, motives of policy rendered John Basilowitz tolerant; and in order to induce foreigners to repair to Moscow, liberty of conscience was granted in its fullest extent: the Lutheran merchants, settled in that metropolis, possessed two churches[l].

[h] Lesvesque, vol. iii. p. 56.
[i] Idem. Ibid.
[k] Ibid. p. 57.
[l] Idem. Ibid.

It

It is curious to reflect that a barbarous Muscovite prince shewed this example of toleration, during a period of time when Henry the Eighth among us, consigned both Catholics and Protestants to the flames; and when his daughter Mary filled Smithfield with fires, for the extinction of heresy: while Philip the Second, King of Spain, assisted at Auto da Fés in Madrid, or in Valladolid, where the ecclesiastics and gentry of his dominions were conducted in procession and burnt to ashes: and lastly, while Charles the Ninth, King of France, encouraged by Gregory the Thirteenth who occupied the papal throne, conspired against his own subjects, and deluged Paris with blood, at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, with a view to extirpate the Hugonots. CHAP. XVII. 1574.

In order to complete the picture of Muscovy, as it existed under John, it only remains to say a few words on the general manners of the people. Simple and rude, they partook more of the Asiatic, than the European customs. A servility, and even passive resignation to the orders of the sovereign, however unjust, cruel, or absurd, characterised every class, from the prince, down to the meanest of his vassals. We can with difficulty conceive, or credit the extent of this submission, which debased and dishonoured the nation[m]. The same despotism, brutality, and triumph of the strong over the weak, pervaded private life. All the refine- Manners.

[m] Lesveque, vol. iii. p. 58—61.

ments,

CHAP. XVII. 1574.

ments, which humanize and soften the intercourse of the sexes, were unknown among them. Violence and blows operated more powerfully than the suggestions of generosity, or the emotions of tenderness. The power of fathers over their children, knew hardly any limit: not only they could inflict upon their unfortunate offspring, corporal chastisement of the severest kind; but, they even possessed a right of selling the latter, as many as four times. Women, secluded from conversation or society, were, if possible, more rigorously or ignominiously treated. The antient laws did not even specify or decree any punishment for a husband who murdered his wife: so absolute was their dominion, and so uncontrouled their authority, in all domestic transactions[n]. The Mexicans and Peruvians, when first attacked by Cortez and Pizarro, in these points of view, seem to have been hardly more barbarous than the Muscovites under John Basilowitz.

Divorces.

Divorces were only permitted, according to the rules of the Greek church, in case the husband or wife should voluntarily embrace a monastic profession. But, the Czars, accustomed to trample on all institutions, civil or moral, did not respect the ties of marriage, nor regard them as sacred and binding over themselves. Basil the Fourth, Father of John, disgusted with the Czarina, on account of her sterility, repudiated her in 1525; and not satisfied

[n] Lesvesque, vol. iii. p. 81—88.

with

with this act of injustice, he banished her to Kargapol, a town little more than two degrees removed from the Arctic Circle, where she was treated with extreme severity [o]. John Basilowitz, his son, surpassed him in this respect. Like Henry the Eighth among us, he had successively, according to the testimony of foreigners, no less a number of wives than seven: the Russians limit them to five; two of whom he compelled to retire into convents. [p] Here again we are struck with the resemblance between John and Peter. The treatment of the unfortunate Natalia Lapuchin, first wife of the last mentioned prince, mother to the Czarowitz Alexis, whom his father put to death; was nearly similar to the usage experienced by the Czarinas, wives of Basil the Fourth, and of John Basilowitz.

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The condition of the Russian peasants, tho' abject, was nevertheless distinct from slavery. They could even quit the estate of their lord, and could engage in any occupation, or enter into a new service, at their pleasure: but, they felt so little either the dignity, or the charms of freedom, that they were accustomed to sell themselves, and voluntarily to renounce the prerogative of liberty [q]. Slaves, in the strict and literal acceptation of the term, were unknown, except captives taken in war; more particularly Tartars and Cossacks, who usually

Condition of the peasants.

[o] Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 387. [p] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 44.
[q] Ibid. p. 89, 90.

were

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were affranchised at the death of their masters[r]. We may form some idea of the barbarous practice of the Muscovites, when engaged in hostilities, by their treatment of the prisoners made at the battle of Wyburg in Carelia, gained by Prince Paletskoi over the Swedes, in 1556. So great a number of soldiers, peasants, women, and children, fell into their hands, that the conquerors disposed of them at the vilest prices. The young women, as ministering to the pleasures of the Russian troops, were estimated at a higher sum than the males. [s]

1574. Treatment of captives.

Domestic architecture.

The dwellings of the superior classes, and even the palaces of the sovereign himself, were not only rude in their construction, composed of wood, and destitute of elegance; but, they wanted many accommodations of ordinary convenience. Chairs, an article which is become so general in the present age, were totally unknown under John. Benches supplied their place, fixed to the walls of the apartment; and they were very commonly used as beds. We must not, however, form an inference too unfavorable to the Russians, from this fact. The Germans in many parts of the empire, were then scarcely more advanced in domestic comfort. Thro'out Bohemia and Hungary, similar privations or wants were general. Even in France and England, courtiers waited in the anti-chambers of princes, seated on coffers or benches. The rigor of the climate, and severity

[r] Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 89, 90. [s] Ibid. p. 455, 456.

of the cold during many months of the year, compelled the Muscovites to adapt their architecture to these physical circumstances. The windows were very small, and the doors so low, that it became necessary to stoop considerably, in entering the houses. Like the Asiatics, the men occupied the front of the dwelling, while the women were confined in the most retired chambers of the building. [t]

CHAP. XVII. 1574.

[t] Levesque, vol. iii. p. 80, 81.

CHAP. XVIII.

POLAND.

Survey of the history of Poland, from the elevation of the family of Jagellon. — Reign of Sigismund the First. — Decline of the order of the Teutonic knights. — Secularization of Prussia. — Accession of Sigismund Augustus. — Cession of Livonia to Poland. — Death of Sigismund Augustus. — Interregnum. — Intrigues preceding the election of Henry, Duke of Anjou, to the Polish crown. — Limitations imposed on his power. — Arrival, and coronation of Henry. — His flight. — Reflexions on the Polish history, and form of government. — Weakness of the crown. — Power and privileges of the nobility. — Anarchy, and disorders. — Slender revenues. — Military forces. — Festivities. — Commerce. — Plans for navigating the Black Sea. — Barbarism of the people. — Magnificence of the higher orders. — Letters. — Religion. — Vices of the constitution, and mode of election.

CHAP. XVIII.

1382. Elevation of the family of Jagellon, to the Polish throne.

THE Polish kings, of the race of the *Piasts*, who had governed that country during several ages, having become extinct in the person of Louis, King of Hungary and Poland, towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century; after some years of Interregnum, Jagellon, great Duke of Lithuania, was elected to fill the throne, and became the founder of a new Dynasty of princes. It is a circumstance equally

equally curious and authentic, that at the period of his elevation, when more than a thousand years had elapsed, since the complete triumph of the Christian religion over the superstitions of antiquity; and when almost all the other states of Europe had embraced the same faith for many centuries; the Lithuanians alone still remained in the practice of the grossest idolatry. All the objects of veneration, sacred among their Scythian or Sarmatian ancestors, were still retained, and regarded as divinities. The element of fire, thunder, and many inanimate objects; but, peculiarly, serpents of every species, received religious honors: the cock was offered to those reptiles, as the most acceptable sacrifice, accompanied with libations of milk; and captives taken in war, were frequently burnt alive, as propitiatory victims, to avert the wrath of their offended gods[a]. When we read these facts, and reflect that little more than four centuries have elapsed since their existence, we are covered with astonishment; while we seem to be transported to the early ages of Greece and Egypt, or rather to the savage regions of Africa and America. Yet such was then the state of a country situate nearly in the same latitude as England, forming a component part of Europe, lying between Livonia, Poland, and Prussia, in all which states Christianity had long been established. Actuated by ambition, Jagellon not only renounced the errors in which he

CHAP. XVIII.

1382.

Idolatry of the Lithuanians.

1386.

[a] Solignac, Histoire de la Pologne, vol. iii. p. 245, 246, note.

CHAP. XVIII.

1386—1508. Introduction of the Christian religion.

had himself been educated: he likewise induced, or compelled his subjects to follow his example; thus becoming the apostle, as well as the legislator of the Lithuanians[b]. That barbarous people, assembled in multitudes, were admitted, the last of the European nations, into the pale of the Christian communion: but, as their numbers rendered it impossible, or tedious to baptise them individually, they were divided into distinct troops, and received the sacrament of baptism by aspersion, under one Christian denomination, according to the different sexes.[c] The kingdom which Jagellon had thus acquired, he transmitted to his descendants. Ladislaus, his eldest son, a prince who manifested the most elevated disposition, was killed at a very early period of his life, in the memorable battle of Varna, gained in 1444, by Amurath the Second, Emperor or Sultan of the Turks; but, the family of the Lithuanian king did not the less continue to reign in Poland.

1508—1513. Reign of Sigismund the First.

Sigismund the First, who acceded to the throne soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century, nearly about the time when Henry the Eighth of England began his reign, at the period when the animosity of Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, involved Europe in long and perpetual wars, was one of the most distinguished princes of the Jagellon line. From any active, or effectual participa-

[b] Solignac, Histoire de la Pologne, vol. iii. p. 246, 247, note.
[c] L'Art. de Verif. vol. ii. p. 72.

tion

tion in those quarrels, Sigismund was in a great measure precluded by his remote situation; which rendered him much more deeply interested in the events, or policy of his northern and eastern neighbours, the Russians, the Teutonic knights, and the Ottoman Sultans. In the first years of his reign, Basil the Fourth, Great Duke of Muscovy, having obtained repeated advantages over the Poles, desolated Lithuania, and reduced to his obedience the two important cities of Pleskow and Smolensko, with their dependant provinces [d]. But, the transaction that has rendered the reign of Sigismund memorable in the history of Europe, and which in its effects is still powerfully felt after near three centuries, was the secularization of the duchy of Prussia, in the person of Albert of Brandenburg.

1508—1513.

Power, and extensive dominions of the Teutonic knights.

The Teutonic knights, by a series of military exploits, had gradually established their empire over some of the richest and most commercial provinces of the north. Advancing east from the frontiers of Brandenburg and Pomerania, they had successively subjected all the countries which skirt the southern coast of the Baltic, quite to the borders of Ingria, and to the shore of the gulf of Finland. Their power and revenues had enabled them not only to defend, but to augment their extensive dominions. Frequently engaged in hostilities with Poland, they had more than once nearly re-

[d] Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 370—374. Solignac, vol. iv. p. 337—341.

CHAP. XVIII. 1508—1513.

duced Lithuania to their obedience: but, vanquished by Casimir the Fourth, and obliged to demand peace on humiliating conditions, they had ceded the duchy of Pomerellia, the fertile districts lying along the river Vistula, and even the city of Marienburg itself, which formed the residence of the Grand Master, in order to obtain it from that prince. The eastern division of Prussia they were only permitted by Casimir to retain as a dependant fief, for which every successive chief of the order was bound to do homage in person, to the kings of Poland[e]. It is proper that history should commemorate, as a melancholy proof of the ravages and devastations of war, that in the short space of twelve years, above three hundred thousand persons bearing arms had perished, besides a still greater number of peasants; and that of more than twenty-one thousand villages, which Prussia had contained at the commencement of hostilities, only three thousand and thirteen escaped destruction by the flames[f]. Great, nevertheless, as this destruction of the human species appears, we may safely assume, and confidently assert, that proportionably a far more copious effusion of human blood has deluged Spain, Germany, and Russia, since the atrocious invasion of the former kingdom by Bonaparte in 1808, down to the present time, 1814, than was shed during the contest between the Teutonic knights and the kings of Poland.

Devastation of the Prussian territories.

[e] Solignac, vol. iv. p. 186, 187. [f] Ibid. p. 187, 188.

From

From this period, the power of the Teutonic knights continued rapidly to decline, notwithstanding the repeated efforts which they made to recover their dismembered provinces, and to shake off their dependance on the Polish crown. Albert of Brandenburg, who descended from a collateral branch of the electoral family, being chosen Grand Master, soon after the accession of Sigismund, became one of the earliest converts to the Lutheran doctrines. After having, like his predecessors, maintained an unequal contest against the King of Poland, he terminated all further disputes by a treaty, in which he sacrificed the interests and existence of the order itself which he commanded, to motives of personal ambition and aggrandizement. Sigismund on his part consented that the duchy of Prussia should be converted into an hereditary fief, revertible to the Republic of Poland, in case of the failure of Albert's posterity, and that of his brothers. By this agreement, which was carried into immediate execution, Albert, from the elective head of a military order of knights, found himself the sovereign of a considerable and opulent province, which descended to his son; and by the failure of his immediate descendants, became united in the ensuing century, to the other dominions of the Electoral house of Brandenburg.[g]

CHAP. XVIII.

1508—1513. Decline of the Teutonic knights.

Secularization of Prussia.

1525.

If Sigismund the First has been deservedly esteemed one of the most illustrious princes

1526—1548. Felicity of

[g] Solignac, vol. iv. p. 399—401.

CHAP. XVIII.

1526—1548. Poland under Sigismund.

who has reigned in Poland, his reputation was due, not to the foreign acquisitions by which he augmented the territory of the Republic; but, to the vigor of his domestic administration, and to the internal tranquillity enjoyed under his government. Equally courted by France, and by the house of Austria, he observed a wise neutrality; constantly refusing to take any part in the civil or religious quarrels, by which the German empire was agitated and desolated. Yet, zealously attached to the Catholic faith, and an enemy to all innovations in religion, he steadily repressed every attempt to establish, or to introduce among his subjects, either the Lutheran, or the Calvinist doctrines. The city of Dantzic having thrown off its allegiance, and openly renounced the Romish worship; he had no sooner terminated the war in which he was then engaged with the Teutonic knights, than he repaired thither in person; compelled the inhabitants to return to the obedience of Poland; inflicted capital punishment on the leaders of the sedition, and reinstated the ecclesiastics in their former offices or dignities[h]. The termination of his life and reign, was marked by every circumstance of national prosperity. While, on one hand he maintained peace with Muscovy, on the other, he repelled an irruption of the Walachians, who had invaded the southern province of Podolia. The election of his only son, Sigismund

Termination of his reign.

[h] Solignac, vol. iv. p. 403, 404.

Augustus,

Augustus, to the succession, in contradiction to the jealous reluctance constantly manifested by the Poles, who still regarded the throne as elective and not hereditary; left him without anxiety on that subject. Sinking in years, but exempt from all the infirmities which usually accompany old age; he was occupied in the most enlightened and beneficial exertions to introduce arts, civilization, and knowledge, among his rude, uncultivated subjects. Superior to the illusions, or the prospects of ambition, by an instance of moderation rarely found, he refused successively the crown of Sweden, and those of Hungary and Bohemia, which were tendered him; attentive only to perform the duties incumbent on a king of Poland, he was repaid by the grateful affection and respect of every order of his people.[i]

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The reign of Sigismund Augustus, which opened a very different scene, was alternately agitated by domestic dissensions, and by foreign wars. His insurmountable passion for a Polish lady, of the noble family of Radzivil, whom he had privately married before his father's decease; together with the generous, but imprudent obstinacy, with which he adhered to his matrimonial engagement, in defiance of the entreaties, expostulations, and even menaces of the Polish nobility; had nearly precipitated him from the throne. It required the utmost address, as well as firmness, to avert the danger,

1548—1551. Reign of Sigismund Augustus.

[i] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 73. Solignac, vol. iv. p. 409—430.

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1552. and to place the crown on the head of a person, whom the nation seemed unanimous in refusing to acknowledge as their queen [k]. The troubles, occasioned by the progress of Lutheranism, which doctrines had been zealously propagated, and universally diffused throughout the kingdom, were encreased by the imprudent zeal of the Polish ecclesiastics. Widely different in this respect from his predecessor, Sigismund Augustus indirectly encouraged, and on many occasions openly protected the Protestants; whose tenets, if he had not adopted, he was at least supposed to regard with predilection and complacency. After long hesitation, he notwithstanding declared himself for the Catholic religion, and authorized the bishops to proceed to extremities against heresy: but, the Poles, accustomed to treat the royal authority with disrespect, and insolent from their numbers, repelled every attempt, and even intimidated the clergy from proceeding to further acts of violence and persecution. [l]

His conduct relative to the Protestants.

1553—1561. Affairs of Livonia.

Livonia, which at this period began to occupy the attention of the King, demanded the most vigorous interposition of Poland for its preservation. The Teutonic knights, who still continued to subsist in that distant province; and who formed a separate order, governed by their grand masters, after the secularization of Prussia in 1525; having insulted Sigismund Augustus, by the imprisonment of the Arch-

[k] Solignac, vol. v. p. 5—26, and p. 35—38.
[l] Ibid. p. 39—47, and p. 52—72.

bishop

bishop of Riga, he marched against them, at the head of a considerable force. Furstemberg, who then occupied the place of Grand Master, unable to oppose him, demanded a cessation of arms; and not only released his prisoner, but consented to sign a treaty, which virtually subjected Livonia to the crown of Poland [m]. A far more formidable competitor was, however, preparing to dispute the title to so valuable a possession. John Basilowitz, Czar of Muscovy, after having repeatedly desolated the province, carried the Grand Master in chains to Moscow: he even spread such consternation up to the gates of Riga, that Kettler, chosen to replace Furstemberg, invoked the aid of Poland, as his last resource. Imitating the example set him by Albert, Duke of Prussia, he repaired in person to Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, where a Diet was assembled; and soon afterwards consented to cede the territories beyond the river Duna, comprehending all Livonia and Esthonia, to the King and Republic of Poland. In return for this sacrifice of the interests and dominions of the order, he was recompensed with the duchies of Courland and Semigallia, rendered hereditary in his family, on condition of doing homage to Sigismund Augustus and his successors [n]. Thus from out of the ruins of the Teutonic order of knights, arose two powerful hereditary states,

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Cession of that province to Poland.

[m] Solignac, vol. v. p. 78—93.

[n] Ibid. p. 93—109. Lesvesque, vol. ii. p. 465—468. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 74.

the

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the duchies of Prussia and of Courland; one of which, since transformed into a monarchy, in 1700, still continues to exist in the same family; while the other has been swallowed up within a few years past, in the Russian empire. Livonia, nevertheless, long continued to be disputed and ravaged by the contending powers of Muscovy, Sweden, and Poland; nor did its calamities terminate, and the province assume a settled form, till towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century.

1562—1569. Union of Poland and Lithuania.

The last years of the reign of Sigismund Augustus were more beneficially occupied, in completing the union of the kingdom of Poland, with the duchy of Lithuania. Although the two countries had been governed for near one hundred and eighty years, since the accession of the house of Jagellon, by the same common sovereign, they were by no means incorporated; their future separation being an event, which the perpetual dissensions of the Poles and Lithuanians, rendered highly probable. Destitute of issue, though he had been three times married; infirm in his constitution, and sinking in bodily, as well as in mental vigor; the King nevertheless betrayed the warmest anxiety to consummate so useful a work. He succeeded, after surmounting the delays and impediments which long retarded it; the act by which it was solemnly decreed, in a Diet composed of deputies from both nations, held at the city of Lublin, having never, in the course of more than two centuries, been infringed or invalidated,

validated, down to the final extinction of the Polish nation in 1792, as an independant state.[o] Two events extremely analogous to the union or incorporation of Poland with Lithuania, have taken place in the modern history of our own country. The first is the union of Scotland and England; a measure meditated by James the First, but consummated by the last princess of the Stuart line, in circumstances bearing some resemblance to those under which Sigismund Augustus effected it; each sovereign being childless, and hopeless of issue. The union of Ireland with Great Britain, forms a much more recent transaction. Both appear to be fraught with inestimable, tho' perhaps not immediately beneficial consequences, to the countries thus blended into one political mass.

CHAP. XVIII. 1570—1572. Reflexions on that event.

Sigismund Augustus expired soon afterwards, exhausted by an immoderate and injudicious pursuit of pleasures, no longer suited either to his age, or to his strength. He may be regarded rather as an amiable, than as a great prince; and his talents were more calculated to excite affection, than to command obedience. Endowed with qualities which enabled him to surmount the bad effects of a defective education, and to rise above the ignorance of the age and nation, he cultivated the arts, and was a protector of letters. Floating in uncertainty between the Catholic and Protestant religions, he was a friend to toleration; and Poland,

Death, and character of Sigismund Augustus.

[o] Solignac, vol. v. p. 141—152.

though

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though agitated, was not convulsed, by the theological dissensions, which at that period desolated the fairest countries of Europe. In his person, the princes of the house of Jagellon became extinct; an event, which by rendering the crown completely elective, opened the prospect of its possession to foreign candidates; while it augmented all the inveterate political evils, under which the nation already laboured, from the defects inseparably connected with its constitution. [p]

1572, July. Interregnum. Candidates for the Polish throne.

The death of Sigismund Augustus having long been regarded as probable, if not imminent; the vacant throne which had already excited the ambition, had likewise awakened the hopes of various sovereigns, who did not even wait for the signal of his dissolution, to commence their applications and intrigues. At their head might be justly ranked the Emperor Maximilian the Second, who proposed the Archduke Ernest, one of his younger sons; a prince of promising virtues, highly acceptable to the nation. Every circumstance seemed to facilitate and to secure his success in the attempt. The nobility of Lithuania were almost universally inclined to the Imperial party; and their choice, it was evident, must necessarily influence, if not decidedly prevail on the Poles, as the union so recently effected between the two countries, depended on the unanimity of their suffrages in the election of

The Archduke Ernest.

[p] Solignac, vol. v. p. 153—165. Vie de Commendon, p. 493—496.

a com-

a common sovereign. The Papal Legate, Cardinal Commendon, a prelate of talents and dexterity, well acquainted with the genius and manners of the people, among whom he had made a long residence; being warmly devoted to the Austrian faction, could greatly contribute to ensure its triumph. The character of Maximilian himself, moderate, humane, and beneficent; when added to his spirit of religious toleration, and indirect protection of the reformed doctrines in his own dominions;—these circumstances naturally conciliated towards his son, the Protestants of Poland, who under various denominations, formed a very numerous and powerful body. It seems highly probable, that if so many advantages had been vigorously and speedily improved, the young Archduke would have surmounted all opposition. But, the characteristic indecision and slowness of the Austrian court, which allowed the first ardor of its adherents to cool, and neglected the moment of action, turned the current of national favor and partiality into a different channel. [q]

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That fortuitous chain of circumstances, denominated Fortune, which in the great transactions of states and empires, as well as in the events of private life, notwithstanding the testimony of Juvenal against her divinity, continually overturns the maturest plans of human wisdom; eminently influenced in the election of a successor to the crown of Poland. A dwarf, by name Crasoski, of liberal birth, and not

History of Crasoski.

[q] Solignac, vol. v. p. 169—172. Commendon, livre iv. chap. vi.

deficient

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deficient in any of those qualities or attainments, calculated to raise their possessor in a court; having quitted his native country during the reign of Sigismund Augustus, had visited France, where he received very flattering testimonies of regard, if not even more solid proofs of affection, from the Queen-dowager Catherine of Medicis, and her son Charles the Ninth. Enriched by their bounty, he returned to Cracow; and, penetrated with gratitude towards his benefactors, Crasoski extolled and exaggerated the magnificence of the French monarch, the splendor of his capital, and the wealth of his subjects. Anticipating, in common with all his countrymen, the approaching vacancy of the Polish throne, he depictured Henry, Duke of Anjou, brother to the King of France, as a prince who was eminently qualified to contribute to the glory and felicity of a great people. The victories of Jarnac and of Montcontour, recently gained by him over the Hugonots, tho' due to the talents of others, had covered the Duke with personal reputation, at a very early period of life. His person, manners, and exterior endowments, were all seductive; while his vices and imperfections, not yet matured by manhood, left the graces of his figure and deportment to produce their full effect, and to conciliate general partiality. The panegyrics and recommendations of Crasoski, operated in fact so powerfully on the minds or imaginations of the Poles, naturally warm and easily enflamed, that a considerable party insensibly

Henry, Duke of Anjou.

formed itself in favor of the candidate whom he proposed: in expectation of the moment when it would be requisite to produce him on the scene, the principal nobility deputed Crasoski to represent to the King of France, their disposition to confer the crown on his brother.[r]

Proposal to elect him King of Poland.

No proposal could be more grateful to that monarch, nor more acceptable to his mother Catherine, though from very dissimilar motives. Charles, deeply affected by the superiority, fame, and military atchievements of the Duke of Anjou; displeased at the Queen-dowager's unconcealed partiality for him; and anxious to remove him to a distance, where he could be no longer dangerous; ardently seized so favorable an occasion of banishing him from France. Catherine, intoxicated with visions of ambition, and desirous of raising her favorite son to the rank of a sovereign, embraced the offer with equal enthusiasm. Montluc, Bishop of Valence, one of the ablest negotiators of the sixteenth century, was instantly dispatched on the decease of Sigismund Augustus, to commence the public prosecution of the enterprize. In defiance of obstacles and difficulties under which ordinary men would have sunk; destitute of pecuniary resources; unaccompanied by the retinue becoming his function and commission; he nevertheless, after penetrating thro' the German states, arrived on the Polish frontiers. Tho' prevented by

Embassy of Montluc.

[r] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 552—557.

the

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the violence and ravages of the plague, which desolated the kingdom, from venturing further to prosecute his journey, or to present himself in the Diet, and there announce the object of his embassy; he surmounted these impediments, and made a rapid progress in acquiring adherents. Even the intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, just then perpetrated at Paris, which immediately followed his appearance in Poland; together with the participation of the Duke of Anjou in that detestable transaction, which was notorious and indisputable; neither disconcerted, nor frustrated his endeavours.

Success of his exertions.

The security, supineness, and arrogance of the Imperial ministers, aided Montluc; while the natural levity, inconstancy, and love of change, which has always characterised the Poles, gave him an easy access to their hearts. The very circumstances, which in their own nature seemed calculated to prevent his success; the vast distance of the two countries, separated by the greater portion of Europe; and the total unacquaintance of Henry with the customs, language, or interests of the nation over which he aspired to reign;—these impediments, by an extraordinary coincidence of events, facilitated his elevation [s]. Notwithstanding the efforts and opposition of the Protestants, who justly apprehended the election of a prince, distinguished for his victories over their brethren in France, and who had recently imbrued

Election of Henry.

[s] Solignac, vol. v. p. 182—207.

his

his hands in the blood of the Hugonots; his party preponderated in the Diet convoked at Warsaw. Scarcely were the other competitors heard, in the tumultuous assembly of the Polish nobles, who almost unanimously, by their acclamations, rather than suffrages, declared Henry to be elected King of Poland, and Duke of Lithuania. It is not without some degree of admiration that we can reflect on this event, when it is considered, that in the vast concourse of persons who concurred in the choice of the Duke of Anjou, hardly a single individual had ever seen or acquired any knowledge of the prince, whom they thus blindly raised to the throne[t]. Such an act, which seems indeed justly to accuse the nation of legislative imbecility, could only have been committed by a Polish Diet, venal, intemperate, and precipitate. The Swedes, the Danes, and the Russians, whose crowns have all been in turn elective, yet have always called to the throne a native, as has been exemplified in the families of *Oldemburg*, of *Vasa*, and of *Romanoff*. The Bohemians and the Hungarians, when they were free to exercise their right of election, invariably chose a native to reign over them; or at least a German, as in the case of Frederic, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, son-in-law of James the First. It was reserved for Poland to exhibit the spectacle of a French prince called to

CHAP. XVIII. 1573.

Reflexions on that event.

[t] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 553, and p. 588—607. Solignac, vol. v. p. 258—334.

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govern a country, with which he was not only unacquainted, but which he held in contempt and alienation.

As if conscious of their rashness and precipitation, or sensible of the imprudence which they had manifested in their past conduct; they endeavoured to impose fetters on their new monarch, by diminishing and degrading the royal dignity itself. Conditions equally humiliating and severe, were framed and proposed to Montluc, as indispensable previous to the ratification of their own act: that minister, unable to elude or to refuse them, found himself under a necessity of solemnly confirming stipulations, which left to Henry little more than the external decorations and Insignia of a king [u]. Thro'out the whole of this tumultuous and turbulent proceeding, in the election made by acclamation, rather than by suffrage, in the rapidity of the act, which allowed no time for reflexion on its consequences, and in every feature that characterises it, we are involuntarily led to trace the resemblance between the Polish Diet of the sixteenth century, and the French National Assembly of the eighteenth century. The Polish and the French Republics were in many respects alike; but the latter, in sanguinary atrocity, has left far behind all the Commonwealths of antiquity, or of modern times.

Limitations, affixed by the Poles, to the royal power.

The embassadors, deputed by the Poles to announce to Henry the choice of the nation, and to witness his formal acceptance of the

Reluctance of the new King, to quit France.

[u] Solignac, vol. v. p. 344—339.

crown,

crown, on the terms annexed to it, were loaded with honors in the court of France; every testimony of public festivity being exhausted by Catherine of Medicis, to manifest her grateful sense of the distinction conferred on her son. But, no sooner had the first emotions of joy subsided, than the new monarch began to betray his reluctance to assume the government delegated to him by the Poles. His indignation at the distrust implied by the retrenchment of the royal prerogatives; the repugnance natural to a dissolute mind, at the idea of quitting a polished and voluptuous court, in order to exercise the painful, as well as laborious duties of sovereignty, among a fierce and turbulent people; the prospect of succeeding to the throne of France, which appeared neither distant, nor improbable;—all these motives would have detained him in his native country, if the menaces and commands of Charles the Ninth, had not accelerated his departure. Neither his reflexions on the duty which he owed to his own character; nor the incitements of a generous ambition; not even the entreaties, and expostulations of the Polish embassadors, who threatened to represent to his new subjects, the indignity of his conduct, could have prevailed, without the peremptory injunctions of his brother, who in person conducted him towards the frontiers. [x]

1573.

[x] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 104—111. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 607—618. Solignac, vol. v. p. 354—402.

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1574. He arrives at Cracow.

Having separated himself, with every symptom of regret, from the embraces of his mother; and having crossed all Germany in the most inclement season, he arrived on the borders of Poland, where he was received with testimonies of affection by the nobility. His approach to Cracow, which city then constituted the capital of his dominions, was marked by demonstrations of universal loyalty; and his coronation, notwithstanding some sudden ebullitions of discontent or haughtiness on the part of his new subjects, which were instantly suppressed, exceeded in splendor and barbarous pomp, every preceding ceremony of that nature in Poland[y]. The state of the kingdom peculiarly demanded counsels of energy and vigor. Not only the long vacancy of the throne, and the temporary extinction of the royal authority, had inflamed the ordinary turbulence and licentiousness of the nobles; but, a foreign enemy had invaded the territories of the Republic. The Czar of Muscovy, John Basilowitz, after desolating Livonia, threatened to extend his ravages into Lithuania; and the Poles expected from a prince nursed in camps, to whom war was familiar, not merely protection, but redress. They were soon, however, undeceived in these fallacious hopes. Henry no longer appeared the hero, who had acquired reputation by renouncing pleasures and sensual indulgence. Regardless of every motive which could stimulate him

Supineness of Henry's government.

[y] Solignac, vol. v. p. 403—435. Commendon, liv. iv. chap. xiv.

to

to exertion; abandoned to the gratifications of appetite, or sunk in indolence; he only endeavoured to banish the recollection of his obligations. Those vices or weaknesses, which had not been perceived in the Duke of Anjou, became visible in the King of Poland. His prodigality and facility rendered him poor, without either acquiring the praise of liberality, or the attachment of the persons on whom he lavished his favors. His alienation from the Poles, and his unconcealed contempt for their manners and modes of thinking, however natural in a foreigner accustomed to more refined society, yet excited resentment: while the caprice, or injustice of his decisions and edicts, in the few instances when he exercised the prerogatives of the crown, produced a fermentation, which time would probably have soon matured, among a high-spirited and restless nobility, into insurrection. Inaccessible, except to his own countrymen, and plunged in effeminate amusements; he looked back to France for deliverance from a bondage, which he regarded as the most severe of privations. [z]

1574. Vices, and defects of his character.

The death of Charles the Ninth, which took place under these circumstances, by recalling him to his hereditary dominions, extricated him from a situation beset with difficulties: but, it was reserved for Henry to exhibit to Europe, the new, as well as ignominious spectacle of a king, flying like a criminal from his own court and

Flight of Henry from Poland.

[z] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 638—642. Solignac, vol. v. p. 435—453. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 112, 113.

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capital, pursued by his subjects, only escaping under shelter of the night, from their vigilance and circumspection. James the Second, in 1688, when abandoning Whitehall, he took refuge in the court of France; Louis the Sixteenth, in 1791, when he quitted the palace of the Tuilleries, and directed his course towards the Low Countries; — both these unfortunate and ill-advised princes may, indeed, be said to have imitated the example set them by the King of Poland. Nor was it attended with more beneficial consequences to them, than it produced to Henry. Louis the Sixteenth's deposition and death, James the Second's abdication, and exile; both eminently resulted from this pusillanimous or injudicious abandonment of their kingly office, when surrounded with dangers. Henry, after having deceived the Polish senate, by assurances of his determination to await the convocation of the Diet, previous to his departure; terrified at the apprehension of the political intrigues which his absence from France might occasion, embraced the humiliating resolution of quitting Cracow, only attended by a few followers. Having executed the plan with success, he reached the Austrian frontiers, before a body of Polish cavalry, sent to pursue and bring him back, could stop his progress; leaving the kingdom in a state of greater confusion and anarchy, than that from which it was extricated by his elevation to the throne. [a]

Reflexions on it.

[a] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 140, 141. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 642—648. Solignac, vol. v. p. 453—468.

The

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Sterility of the Polish annals.

The history of Poland excites less interest, and contains fewer incidents which awaken, delight, or elevate the mind, than the annals of any other country of modern Europe. Its vicious form of constitution, uniting the extremes or evils of tyranny, anarchy, and slavery, may account for this sterility. However despotism may degrade and debase the nature of man, there yet are found in the history of every people who have been subject to arbitrary monarchs, bright and shining periods; when unlimited power being placed under the direction of virtue and wisdom, we are almost led to forget, or to pardon the inherent defects and abuses, inseparable from that species of government. Such were the reigns of Trajan, and of the Antonines, if not of Augustus, in antiquity. Such may be, perhaps, esteemed those of Henry the Fourth in France, and of Elizabeth, Queen of England. The benevolence, heroism, and clemency of the former prince; the vigor, talents, and felicity of the latter princess; — these qualities taking us in some measure, prisoners, induce us to lose sight of the state of depression or servitude, in which their subjects remained. But, in the Polish annals, we scarcely find any circumstance to compensate for the misery entailed on the people. Retained in a slavery which approached to that of the Africans, transported to the colonies in the New World; they were not only attached to the glebe, but, their lives and properties were at the disposal or pleasure of the lord to whom they belonged,

Defects and vices of the constitution.

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from whose cruelty or caprice there lay no appeal.

Privileges of the nobility.

The throne, which in other states afforded some protection to the meanest vassal; far from being in a condition to grant shelter or assistance, was frequently unable to secure its possessor from insult and menace, or to avenge its own wrongs and injuries. A ferocious nobility, secure in their numbers, unaccustomed to the restraints of law, barbarous in their manners; as destitute of science, as they were of knowledge of the art of war, and only fit for predatory incursions against Muscovites or Tartars; — this body, formidable only to their fellow subjects, sustained by the Equestrian order of inferior nobles, swallowed up all the authority of the republic, and opposed every institution or regulation, calculated to set limits to their excesses[b]. Under Sigismund Augustus, new abuses, nourished or encouraged by the facility of that prince's character, which had crept in, greatly augmented the preceding confusion.

Equestrian order.

The deputies of the Equestrian order, whose original functions had only extended to transmitting and circulating the decrees of the King and Senate; emboldened by the licence which accompanied the progress of the Reformation; and secretly supported by the King, with a view to depress the authority of the Senate; erected themselves into Tribunes of the people. Every

[b] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 303—305; and liv. iv. p. 579—581. Solignac, vol. v. p. 101, 102.

act

act of insolent and lawless interposition was committed by them with impunity, to the extinction of the antient and legitimate privileges of the Senatorial body. An incontestable proof of it was given by many of this latter class, who voluntarily laid down their office and dignity, in order, by assuming the Equestrian rank, to become more popular[c]. We are powerfully reminded on perusing, the facts here enumerated, of the state of antient Rome, between the period of the Gracchi, and the final dissolution of the Commonwealth, under the conflicting tyranny of Marius and Sylla.

Royal authority.

So feeble was the royal authority become under Sigismund Augustus, that he found himself incapable of carrying into execution those measures, or inducing the legislature to adopt those plans, in which the honor, interests, and even the existence of Poland, were most deeply or essentially implicated. In 1561, when Kettler, Grand Master of the Teutonic knights, repaired in person to Cracow, to supplicate for assistance against the Czar John Basilowitz, who had almost subjected Livonia; though he offered to cede the province itself to Poland, and was warmly supported by the King, in his request of succour and protection; yet no attention whatever was paid to their joint recommendations or entreaties. Irritated, as well as mortified by so contemptuous a rejection, Sigismund applied to his Lithuanian subjects, convoked at Wilna; over whom his influence or authority appear

Its feeble and limited nature.

[c] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 304, 305.

to

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to have been more extensive. Yet, even there, before he ventured to disclose the proposition, or to demand their co-operation, he began by according voluntarily to the nobility of the duchy, every privilege which they chose to reclaim from him. After so gracious a concession, the Diet receiving the proposal favorably, agreed to support the Livonians; whose subjection to Muscovy must necessarily have been speedily followed by their own, as the countries being contiguous, lay alike open to the Czar's invasion. But, notwithstanding the obvious and striking necessity for a vigorous, as well as prompt interposition, to save Livonia; and tho' that fertile, as well as maritime province, had been completely ceded to Poland, forming a barrier against Russia to the north, of inestimable value; yet the nobility refused to march, or to assist the King[d]. Encouraged by the supine inaction of the Poles, John, in 1564 made an irruption into Lithuania, invested the frontier city of Poloczk situate on the river Duna, and rendered himself master of the place. Sigismund being thus pressed, issued an order to Prince Radzivil, one of the greatest Lithunian dignitaries, to summon the nobles, as in the last emergency. Under these distressful circumstances, it can scarcely be believed that only two thousand Lithunians, and fifteen hundred Poles, could be collected from a country, which, independant of its population, boasted to contain above a hundred thousand gentlemen

Difficulty of assembling the forces of Poland.

[d] Solignac, vol. v. p. 100—105.

fit

fit to bear arms[e]. A nobility so powerful, so base, and so regardless of the honor of their country, is not to be paralleled in modern Europe. Always attentive to fetter the crown, tho' enjoying and exercising in their own persons, the most arbitrary power, which they abused to purposes of oppression; arrogating for themselves the most destructive privileges, incompatible with monarchical government; tyrannical in their treatment of the people, and destitute of the wish to diffuse civil liberty beyond the pale of their own order;—the Polish aristocracy has completed in our own time, from their want of every quality demanded by their position, the ruin of the Polish name and nation. It was not foreign ambition, but internal venality and anarchy, which produced the two partitions of that unfortunate country.

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It is however to be remembered, that the title by which the family of Jagellon held Lithuania, differed from the tenure which conferred on them the Polish crown. Being hereditary great Dukes of the former province, the inhabitants felt for them the attachment natural towards their antient princes. But, Poland was an elective monarchy, tho' the lineal descent, and the right of blood were respected, while the house of Jagellon continued to exist. At the decease of Sigismund Augustus, this last barrier being removed, the throne became open to every pretender. The nation, previous to conferring

Contempt of the royal power.

[e] Solignac, vol. v. p. 113, 114.

the

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the royal authority, disarmed it of every remaining prerogative which could excite terror, scarcely leaving it wherewithal to conciliate affection. It was on these conditions that the crown was tendered to the Duke of Anjou, who felt the inanity of the present; but, was unable to resent, or to contest the terms [f]. His reign, if indeed his short residence among the Poles, can merit the name; carried the anarchy of that country to its utmost height. All the forms of respect towards the sovereign, ceased; and his palace itself did not form an asylum from insult. Under the windows of the royal apartments at Cracow, a fray having taken place of the most serious nature, between two parties of armed nobles, in which a senator of the first rank was killed; Henry, apprehensive of an insurrection, summoned all the French to his aid, and prepared to repel the assailants [g]. Such was the abject condition to which the sovereign was reduced, and such the dissolution of the government at this period.

Distribution of offices.

The principal source of influence or consideration, possessed by the Polish kings, lay in the distribution of offices and dignities; the number of which was great. They likewise nominated to the bishopricks, and principal ecclesiastical preferments. When any of these became vacant during the interval of an Interregnum, they usually were not filled up, with a

[f] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 610—612; and liv. iv. p. 620—626. Solignac, vol. v. p. 343—347, and p. 363—370, and p. 378.

[g] Ibid. vol. v. p. 437—443.

view

view of enabling the future monarch to acquire some support at his accession, by the employments in his power to bestow on individuals [h]. It is difficult to ascertain with any precision, the extent or amount of the revenues of the crown, at the extinction of the race of Jagellon. Previous to the commencement of the reign of Sigismund the First, the royal domain had been almost entirely alienated, but that prince resumed many of the grants made by his predecessors. His son, Sigismund Augustus, destitute of issue, and little interested to maintain the independance of the future sovereigns, diminished by his liberalities, the lands appropriated to their use: he even contracted a very considerable debt, which Henry, by one of the stipulations annexed to his election, undertook to liquidate [i]. It is clear, that the Poles themselves regarded the royal revenues as inadequate to supporting the grandeur or majesty of the throne; since by another condition imposed on the Duke of Anjou, he was bound to draw annually from the receipts of his patrimonial estates or establishment in France, no less a sum than four hundred and fifty thousand Florins, which were to be expended in, and exclusively devoted to Poland. [k]

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Revenues.

The military force of the Republic in the sixteenth century, consisted almost entirely in cavalry; being estimated to exceed two hundred

Cavalry.

[h] Commendon. liv. iv. p. 620—622.

[i] Solignac, vol. v. p. 334—337.

[k] About forty thousand pounds Sterling. Solignac, vol. v. p. 336.

thou-

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thousand men, when all the nobility and gentry mounted on horseback. But, this tumultuous and disorderly croud, incapable of discipline, and devoid of subordination, resembled the Tartar Hordes, who desolated Europe in the middle ages. The only regular troops known in Poland, being foreign mercenaries; the genius of the Poles being incompatible with the restraints requisite to form a body of infantry; and the licentious spirit of the nobility disdaining every curb which checked their insolence or depredations. All the characteristic love of shew and magnificence, which peculiarly distinguished the nation, was manifested in their camps; where they delighted to exhibit the parade of martial splendor, when marching against an enemy. Vast numbers of the finest horses, procured from foreign countries at any expence; rich trappings and accoutrements, composed of the most precious metals or materials;—all these decorations gave to their camp, the appearance of a tournament, or a Carousal, rather than of an army ranged under its banners[1]. Poland was the only European country, in that age, left completely open, unprotected by any garrison or fortress, notwithstanding the facility which the want of fortifications gave to the continual inroads of their formidable enemies, the Tartars, Turks, and Muscovites. Long prescription, so powerful in its influence over nations, as well as over individuals; the pride

Magnificence of the Polish camps.

Want of fortresses, or garrisons.

[1] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 635.

of the nobility, who regarded themselves as forming the best defence of the State; and the total ignorance of the science of attacking or defending cities; — these prejudices or motives contributed to perpetuate a practice, so contrary to the policy of every other civilized country.

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Reception of Henry in Poland.

The reception of Henry of Valois, at his arrival on the Polish frontiers, in the Palatinate of Posnania, formed a spectacle equally singular, superb, and picturesque. Fifteen thousand cavalry, conducted by the principal nobility, covered the eminences on either side, as far as the view could extend. The variety of arms, military instruments, dresses, and costly ornaments, exceeded imagination; forming a Compendium of those worn by all the European, as well as by many of the Asiatic nations. Complete troops of horse, habited in uniforms bordered with furs, embroidered with gold and silk, encreased the beauty and grandeur of the scene. The air was rent with acclamations of joy, and the sound of military music, as the new King approached; who, transported with so novel and exhilerating a display of pomp, owned, that "for the first time since his election to the "throne of Poland, he then felt that he was a "sovereign."[m]

Splendor of the Poles.

These exhibitions of barbarous festivity were renewed and even augmented, at the ceremony of his coronation, soon afterwards; the de-

[m] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 633—636.

scription

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scription of which recals the idea of the Persian and Mogul encampments, in the plains of Agra, or of Ispahan, rather than the inauguration of a Catholic prince[n]. The inhabitants of Paris could never sufficiently satiate their curiosity, with viewing and admiring the Polish embassadors, who came to offer the crown to the Duke of Anjou. Their grotesque and singular dress; their bonnets of fur; their sabres, arrows, and quivers; the splendor of their equipage; the display of precious stones on their scymetars, saddles, and housings; their fierce and martial deportment;—all these united circumstances produced an effect difficult to be conceived, in the court of Charles the Ninth. The general admiration augmented, when two of the chiefs of the embassy entered the great hall of state, bearing on their shoulders the act of election, contained in a casket of silver, by virtue of which Henry was called to the throne of the Jagellons.[o]

Stipulations, annexed to Henry's election.

Notwithstanding the arrogance of the Polish nobles, and the affected confidence which they placed in their own valor, for the defence of their country; they nevertheless compelled Charles and Henry to stipulate jointly, that a body of four thousand French troops should be sent into Poland, whenever the nation should be involved in a war with the Muscovites. As they were destitute even of a single ship, and incapable

[n] Solignac, vol. v. p. 422—427.
[o] De Thou, vol. vii. p. 8. Solignac, vol. v. p. 375.

of

of either constructing, or of equipping a navy; the French likewise engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic, with a view to render them masters of that sea, and to retake the city of Narva, which had been captured by John Basilowitz [P]. It must be owned that France paid dearly for the honor of seating one of her princes on the throne of Poland, and that it was scarcely possible to purchase an elective crown, at a more extravagant price. CHAP. XVIII. 1574.

The commerce of Poland at this period, was exclusively confined to the port of Dantzic; their possession of the southern portion of Livonia being too precarious and too recent, for allowing them to profit of the facility, which Riga and other places in that valuable province, lent to trade. The privileges enjoyed by Dantzic, were so ample, and their municipal franchises so numerous, that the inhabitants might rather be esteemed as living under the protection, than as subject to the obedience of the Polish kings; peculiarly after the death of Sigismund the First. In 1563, the commerce of that city must have been prodigious; since it is asserted by a contemporary writer, that six hundred vessels were seen there at a time; and the elegance of the buildings sufficiently proved its wealth. All the productions of the interior provinces of Poland, particularly grain, honey, wax, and tallow, being brought down the Vistula, were exported from Dantzic. By the same channel, manufactures of every sort, articles of Commerce. Dantzic.

[P] Solignac, vol. v. p. 335, 336.

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luxury, wines, sugar, perfumes, and silk, found their way into the interior of the kingdom.[q] In 1814, the ambition of Bonaparte has reduced to a species of desart, this opulent city.

Communication with the Black Sea.

Besides the port of Dantzic which connected them with the Baltic, the Poles in the sixteenth century possessed a direct communication with the Black Sea, at the other extremity of their dominions, by means of the river Niester, and the port of Bialogorod, situate in the province of Podolia. From thence, a traffic equally extensive and beneficial, might have been carried on with all the southern kingdoms of Europe, with Turkey, and the Levant. The Venetians would have made it the Emporium of the trade of the Euxine; while the fertility of the Ukraine secured inexhaustible supplies of corn, as well as of other important articles; in return for which, the commodities of Italy and Spain would have been exchanged. It was proposed to Sigismund Augustus, to avail himself of so inestimable a source of advantage, which only demanded the protection and encouragement of an enlightened government. Unfortunately, that prince, childless, incapable of prosecuting with vigour any scheme of public utility, and attentive only to his pleasures; was easily reduced to relinquish it, on account of the impediments found in the current of the Niester, which rendered its navigation difficult or dangerous; but, which obstacles might have been easily removed[r]. The inattention of Sigis-

[q] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 235—238. [r] Ibid. p. 279—285.

mund

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mund Augustus, to so obvious a means of enriching, improving, and civilizing his dominions, is only however to be satisfactorily explained, by a consideration of the pernicious genius of the Polish constitution; which left the sovereign not only without power, but without incitement to exertion or emulation. The nobles despised trade, as degrading and unworthy of their stations: while the miserable and abject peasant, chained to the soil, equally destitute of freedom or of property, could make no effort to liberate himself from slavery [s]. The intermediate class of citizens, which in other states forms the bulwark between the two extremes; in which order of men is usually found the greatest portion of industry, opulence, and invention; was unknown, and had no existence in Poland.

1574. Pernicious nature of the Polish constitution.

In such a state of society, and under such a government, we cannot wonder that the nation continued to remain without arts, manufactures, or improvement. Only fabricks of the rudest nature, and of absolute necessity, existed among them: all the luxuries of life were drawn from foreign countries, at a vast expence. So supine was the inaction of the people, that the little commerce which remained, was monopolized by the Jews; who enjoyed extraordinary exemptions or immunities, at a period when throughout the other kingdoms of Europe, that nation was held in universal execration. They not only applied to trade: medi-

Immunities enjoyed by the Jews.

[s] Solignac, vol. v. p. 296.

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cine, polite letters, the management of the customs and revenue, were principally, and almost exclusively, exercised by Jews. They possessed lands, were regarded as honorable, had the right of wearing swords, or of carrying arms, and participated in all the privileges of the native Poles[t]. We may form some idea of the state of commercial intercourse thro'out Poland in 1573, by the circumstance of Montluc, the French embassador, being unable to find a single merchant in the kingdom, who could furnish five thousand crowns, in the space of three months[u]. All the buildings in the principal towns, were composed of wood; and their construction was mean in the greatest degree[x]. Every species of police was banished; and so dreadful were the ravages of the plague when Montluc entered Poland, that he found it impossible to escape with his life, except by sleeping in the woods, where he had nearly perished from the want of provisions.[y]

Architecture.

Ravages of the plague.

Description of Poland,

We may see in the compositions of the poet Desportes, who accompanied his sovereign, Henry the Third, to Cracow, in 1574, with what horror the French viewed the Polish manners. Desportes describes the country, nearly in the same colours and language which Ovid uses, when writing of Pontus; and the Roman poet was not more deeply sensible to his exile

[t] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 270, 271.
[u] Solignac, vol. v. p. 282, note.
[x] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 238.
[y] Solignac, vol. v. p. 199.

from

from Rome, than was Desportes to his banishment from Paris. The aspect of Poland must, indeed, have appeared truly hideous, to the refined courtiers of a voluptuous and polished capital. The snows, under which the ground lay buried, during many months of the year; the barbarous stile of building, not only destitute of ornament, but deficient even in common convenience; the mode of warming the apartments by stoves, which practice was new to the French; and the custom of bringing cattle into their rooms, usual among the inferior classes of the people;—all these circumstances are eloquently and pathetically enumerated by Desportes. He seems to have been not less affected with disgust, at their characteristic loquacity, arrogance, levity, and inebriety, all which he censures with the harshest asperity. Even of their martial prowess, and skill in war, he pretends to entertain doubts. "Poverty "alone," says he, "protects and guarantees "Poland from subjection. The Ottomans pre- "fer the rich vales of Cyprus and Candia, to "these icy and sterile plains; and the Ger- "mans, though fond of war, direct their atten- "tion to Flanders, where their toils are more "amply recompensed." However we may suspect some exaggeration, or trace some prejudice in the descriptions of the Poet, we must still admit, that the banks of the Vistula were widely different from those of the Tyber, or of the Seine.[z]

CHAP. XVIII. 1574. given by Desportes.

[z] Œuvres de Desportes, "Adieu a la Pologne," p. 427, 428.

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1574. Luxury.

The general penury and wretchedness of the people, did not however prevent a great display of magnificence being made among the higher orders. Coaches were already known, and used at the coronation of Henry, in 1574[a]. Many of the Palatines and Starosts were even highly accomplished, possessing all the graces of the most polished, or cultivated nations. Nothing tended to impress the French court, with a higher opinion of the Polish ambassadors, than the facility with which several among them, conversed in Latin, French, Italian, and German[b]. Casimir the Third, one of the greatest princes who has reigned in Poland, as early as 1362 having founded a university at Cracow, brought or invited professors thither from Paris; but the institution fell into decay. The young nobility studied in the German seminaries of learning. Sigismund Augustus loved and protected letters. Luther dedicated to him a translation of the Bible; and Calvin inscribed the Commentary, which he composed on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, to the same prince: but these offerings were more theological, than literary[c]. Sigismund secretly cherished the Reformation, though he did not think proper to shelter its adherents from the resentment and persecution of the ecclesiastics. The progress which the Protestant religion made in Poland, during his reign, was very considerable. In Lithuania, four years after his death,

Letters.

Religion.

Progress of the Reformation.

[a] De Thou, vol. vii. p. 32, 33.
[b] Solignac, vol. v. p. 358, 359.
[c] Ibid. p. 69, note.

only

only six Catholic priests could be found; and it was supposed, that not more than a thousandth part of the inhabitants remained firm to the antient faith [d]. Bernardino Ochini, a native of Sienna in Italy, who had been originally a Franciscan monk, but, having renounced the institutions of his order and the Romish religion, after visiting Geneva and England, had settled at Cracow; ventured not only to preach heretical doctrines in that city: he even publicly recommended the practice of poligamy, as founded on holy writ. We have seen the same opinion revived and defended on scriptural precedents, drawn from the Jewish History in the Old Testament, by an eminent and ingenious divine of the Church of England, in our own time; not, however, with more success, than seems to have attended the Siennese monk. Ochini long remained unmolested, and even followed; till Cardinal Commendon, the papal Legate, after repeated applications, procured from the Senate an edict, by which all foreign heretics were commanded to quit the kingdom. Having reluctantly complied with the injunction, he died in 1564, of the plague, in Moravia. [e]

1574. History of Ochini.

All the inveterate defects and vices, characteristic of, and inseparable from the Polish constitution, were called out into action by the death of the last prince of the Jagellon line. Near two centuries had then elapsed, since the

State of Poland, at the extinction of the family of Jagellon.

[d] Solignac, vol. v. p. 39—45, and p. 70, note.
[e] Commendon, liv. ii. chap. ix.

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nation might be said to have fully exercised the unrestrained right of election, Sigismund Augustus having been declared successor to the crown, at ten years of age; and the kingdom, though nominally conferred by the free suffrages of the *Piasts*, or gentlemen, was in effect hereditary[f]. But, the vacancy of the throne in 1572, became the signal of tumult, outrage, and anarchy. The plain, denominated the Szopa, situate on the banks of the Vistula, near Warsaw, where the general Diet was convoked for chusing a king, exhibited a striking and faithful picture of the genius of the Poles. It resembled rather a camp of ferocious Tartars, met to determine on some hostile incursion, or to execute an enterprize against enemies, than an elective assembly, summoned for the purpose of conferring the crown on the most deserving candidate. Every individual came armed, according to his choice; and every species of military weapon, used either by antient, or by modern nations, was to be found among them. Javelins, spears, and arrows, were mingled with matchlocks, and Harquebusses. Many of the Poles, at the head of their associates, having brought artillery to the place of election, entrenched themselves, and seemed to prepare for the last extremities of violence or bloodshed[g]. These appearances were by no means merely external. After the Duke of

General Diets.

Anarchy and ferocity of the Poles.

[f] Solignac, vol. iv. p. 412, 413.
[g] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 579, 580.

Anjou

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Anjou had been chosen and even proclaimed, with such apparent symptoms of unanimity; a faction, composed principally of the Palatines and nobles who had embraced the Reformation, discontented at the ambiguity of the article by which liberty of conscience was secured to them, seceded from the assembly. Conducted by the Grand Marshal of Poland, one of the highest officers of the Republic, they demanded a Confederation; in other words, a constitutional right to take up arms against the government; protesting their resolution, either to proceed to a new choice, or to exact from Henry, the most ample concessions on the freedom of religious opinion. The Catholics, superior in numbers, and irritated by so unexpected an opposition, prepared to reduce their adversaries by force: each party quitting their tents, mounted on horseback, drew out cannon, and only waited the signal for action. Happily, the moderation of some temperate and conciliating spirits, anxious to anticipate so disgraceful, as well as so sanguinary a contest, with much difficulty prevented the effusion of blood, and induced the leaders to listen to terms of accommodation. [h]

[h] Solignac, vol. v. p. 311—334. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 601—603.

CHAP. XIX.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Review of the Turkish history, from the subversion of the Greek empire. — Siege and capture of Constantinople, by Mahomet the Second. — Conquests of that Sultan. — Efforts of the Venetians to retard the Ottoman arms. — Scanderbeg. — Mathias Corvinus. — Repulse of the Turks before Rhodes. — Capture of Otranto. — Danger and terrors of Italy. — Death and character of Mahomet. — Accession, reign, and deposition of Bajazet the Second. — Reign of Selim the First. — Conquest of Egypt. — Extinction of the Mammelukes. — Death, character, and principal actions of Selim. — Accession of Solyman the Second. — State of Hungary, Italy, and Spain, at that period. — Attack of Belgrade, and its capture. — Siege and capture of Rhodes. — Battle of Mohatz. — Reduction of Hungary. — Repulse of Solyman before Vienna. — Naval expeditions, and ravages of Barbarossa. — Subjection of the islands of the Archipelago, and of the Morea. — Alliance of the Sultan with France. — Ill success of the Turks before Malta. — Death and character of Solyman. — Glory of the Turkish arms. — Reign of Selim the Second. — Invasion of Cyprus. — Victory of Lepanto. — Reduction of Cyprus. — Peace concluded by the Venetians with the Porte. — Conquest of Tunis, and the Goletta. — Death of Selim the Second. — State of the Ottoman empire in 1574. *— Nature of the sovereign authority. — Origin, and immunities of the Janizaries. — Their insolence, power, and excesses. — Military discipline. — Numbers. — Artillery.*

— Artillery. — Barbarities exercised in war. — Naval force. — Gallies. — Formidable Marine. — Turkish admirals, and Commanders. — Barbarossa. — Viziers. — Mahomet. — Piali. — Ulucciali. — Commerce of the Turks. — State of Constantinople. — Terror inspired by the Sultans. — Reflections on the magnitude, and resources of the Ottoman empire.

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THE capture of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second, followed by the subversion of the Greek empire, which had survived that of the Romans in the west, near a thousand years; were not only events of the first magnitude in themselves, but, may be considered as forming an æra in the history of mankind. The Turkish Sultans, seated on the throne of the Greek emperors, after having transferred their court and residence to the antient capital of Constantine, could no longer be justly esteemed among the number of Asiatic princes. Masters of the rich provinces to the south of the Danube, from Belgrade to the coast of the Euxine; while they were annually extending their conquests towards the frontiers of Hungary, Germany, and Italy; they assumed a place in the general system of Europe, equally important and formidable. It cannot be doubted that the fate of Constantinople might have been protracted, if not totally averted, by a timely and vigorous exertion of the principal European states. The Turkish troops, however personally brave, or devoted to their leader, were unskilled in the science of attacking fortified cities; and Mahomet, repeatedly on the point of abandoning the

1453. Capture of Constantinople.

Its consequences to Europe.

Indifference of the great European powers, to its fate.

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the siege, was induced to persist in the enterprize, by his consciousness of its facility. So general and supine an indifference excites our surprize; and it appears more singular, when contrasted with the enthusiastic zeal which, some centuries earlier, had precipitated whole nations upon Syria, in order to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens.

State of Europe in 1453.

This inaction can only be satisfactorily explained, by considering the situation and position of the great kingdoms of Europe, at the

France.

period of the capture of Constantinople. France, governed by Charles the Seventh, had scarcely effected the entire expulsion of the English from her interior provinces; and required a respite to recruit her exhausted strength, before she ventured to engage in foreign expeditions. It was not till more than forty years later, that Charles the Eighth led the French

Spain.

nobility over the Alps, against Naples. Ferdinand and Isabella had not yet united Castile and Arragon into one monarchy; nor, even if that union had been effected, could Spain attempt distant projects of glory, or of advantage, while the Moors continued to occupy the extensive provinces of Granada and Mur-

England.

cia. England, under the feeble government of Henry the Sixth, at the eve of seeing the sanguinary contest commence between the two rival roses, possessed neither the leisure nor the

Germany.

means to look beyond her own coasts. The imperial dignity, which under the Swabian Dynasty of emperors, in the thirteenth century, inspired

inspired respect, and might have propelled into action the Germanic body; was sunk into contempt, and almost into oblivion, under Frederic the Third; a prince who possessed neither the talents nor the territories, requisite to enforce obedience, and to rouse the Germans: while that empire itself, torpid and unwieldy, refused to take any share in repelling the common enemy of the Christian name. In Poland, Ladislaus the Sixth, engaged in contests with his own subjects, and compelled to turn his arms against the Teutonic knights, who menaced the northern frontier of his dominions, became unable to attend to the calamities of the Greeks. Hungary, situated nearer to the scene of danger, and deeply interested in the preservation of Constantinople, was nevertheless, from various causes, incapacitated of extending assistance. The battle of Varna, fought only nine years preceding, in which Amurath the Second, the father of Mahomet, had obtained a decisive victory over the Hungarians, was accompanied with the loss of their sovereign Ladislaus, and the flower of the nobility, who fell in the action. This awful disaster, which remained deeply imprinted on the minds of the people, inspired a just apprehension of the Ottoman power; and the kingdom, rent by factions under a minor prince, only desired repose, however inglorious, or precarious. It was therefore from Italy alone, that effectual and immediate succour could justly be expected: but, Nicholas the Fifth, who occupied the papal chair, was deficient in the elevation of character, disinterestedness,

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Poland.

Hungary.

Exertions of the Italian states.

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restedness, and energy, required to animate the other princes or republics. The naval force, consisting of thirty gallies, equipped at the joint expence of the Holy See, of Alfonso, King of Naples, and of the Venetians, which was sent to raise the siege of Constantinople, arrived too late, occasioned by the delays almost inseparable from the operations of combined forces; and the city was abandoned to its destiny. [a]

Efforts of Constantine the Thirteenth.

In this deplorable situation, Constantine the Thirteenth did not however forsake himself: and tho' neither distinguished by his resources of mind, nor sustained by any external circumstances, he prepared to defend the last remains of the empire of Rome. His precautions appear to have been able and judicious: but, the debased, as well as abject character of his subjects who even in such an extremity, were incapable either of exerting the courage arising from despair, or of contributing towards the preservation of their own property, by relinquishing a portion of it to the state; precipitated, while they accelerated the common destruction [b]. It must be confessed, that Constantine, in the last act of his life, by no means disgraced the Imperial purple, as so many of his predecessors had done; and the list of the Cæsars, which terminated in his person, is rescued in some measure from the ignominy with which they had been so long covered, by his

[a] Knolles's Hist. of the Turks, p. 340. Laugier, Hist. de Venice, vol. vii. p. 71.

[b] Ibid, p. 345, 346. Vanel, Hist. des Turcs, vol. ii. p. 64.

gene-

generous death. The city, exposed to all the outrages of an incensed and ferocious soldiery, became during some days, a scene of indiscriminate plunder or carnage: but the Sultan, by his subsequent conduct, exhibited the enlargement of views, and the conciliating policy of a legislator, equally anxious to protect his new subjects, as he had been ardent to effect the conquest of Constantinople. Commercial privileges, accompanied with a toleration of every form of religious faith or worship, were conceded in the amplest manner to all those who should establish themselves in the capital; and Mahomet, who had atchieved the destruction of the Greek empire at a very early period of life, gave ample proof through the remainder of his reign, that he only regarded so important a capture, as the prelude to still greater acquisitions[c]. During the course of near thirty years, his active ambition seems to have been scarcely ever suspended: its effects were alternately felt on either side of the Bosphorus; in Europe, no less than in Asia. Thrace and Macedonia submitted without resistance, on the first summons: the islands of the Archipelago were either subjected, or desolated; and the Peninsula of the Morea, as well as Greece, were only preserved by the naval force of the Venetians; which, from its superiority to the Turkish marine, could afford continual supplies

1453. Conduct of Mahomet the Second, towards the Greeks.

Exploits, and conquests of Mahomet.

[c] La Croix, Hist. Ottomane, vol. i. p. 236—244. Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. p. 98—106.

to

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to the numerous garrisons, possessed by the Republic on those coasts. [d]

Reflexions on the magnitude of the Ottoman empire.

If we survey the conquests of Mahomet the Second, we must admit, that in magnitude and extent, they have scarcely been exceeded by those of any prince in antiquity. Timur, and Zingis, who successively ravaged a larger portion of the earth, neither established their empire on such solid foundations, nor reigned over so beautiful, fertile, and commercial a part of the globe. From the Euphrates, to the Adriatic; from the frontiers of Syria, to those of Poland and Hungary, all the kingdoms and states successively yielded to the Ottoman arms. Since the death of Justinian, and the temporary revival of the eastern empire, by the victories of Belisarius and Narses, during the reign of that monarch; the world had not seen so many provinces permanently united under one head.

Reduction of Servia and Bosnia.

Servia having assumed the form, and arrogated the title of a kingdom, in the darkness of the middle ages, when the debility of the Greek emperors favored the attempt; had been long governed by a race of Christian princes or Despots. They were, nevertheless, incapable of opposing any effectual barrier to the Turkish valor, which speedily reduced Semendria the capital, together with its territory, to the obedience of the Sultan. Bosnia followed the example; while Walachia, composing a part of the antient Dacia, conquered by Trajan, was

[d] La Croix, vol. i. p. 244, and p. 248, and p. 250.

permitted to remain under the administration of its native governors or Waivodes, rendered tributary to the Turks. Bulgaria had been already swallowed up by them; and thro'out all the countries extending from Sclavonia, to the mouths of the Danube, the Mahometan power became firmly and universally established.[e]

Conquests in Asia.

Beyond the Hellespont, Mahomet in person over-ran with almost as much rapidity as Alexander had done in antiquity, and with equal success, the countries of Anatolia hitherto unsubjected; and after an obstinate contest, maintained against him with some success, he made himself master of Caramania[f]. Turning his arms northward, to the coast of the Euxine, he formed the siege of Sinopé, the country of Diogenes the Cynic; at that time the metropolis of the dominions of Ismael, a prince whose pusillanimity rendered his resistance short; and who was rewarded by the conqueror for his prompt submission, by the present of the city of Phillippopoli in Thrace, to which he was transferred with his family[g]. A more severe and humiliating destiny awaited David Comnenus, Emperor of Trebizond. This obscure and feeble representative of the Cæsars, was descended from Alexis Comnenus, who reigned in Constantinople at the period of its capture by the Latins, about the commencement of the thirteenth century. He had established his residence at Nice in

Sinopé.

Trebizond.

[e] Cantemir, p. 108, 109. Knolles, p. 354—356. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252—260.

[f] Ibid. p. 110. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252.

[g] Knolles, p. 359.

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Bythinia; and his successors, driven from thence by Orcan, one of the earliest leaders, or Sultans of the Turks, transferred the seat of their government to Trebizond, on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. After a short defence, David consented to surrender, upon assurances of honorable treatment, and personal safety; but, under pretence of some criminal, or dangerous correspondence with the court of Persia, Mahomet violating the capitulation, condemned the unfortunate Emperor to suffer death [h]. Ussum Cassan himself, who then filled the throne of Persia, being vanquished in a general engagement, was compelled to evacuate the Ottoman territories: while Achmed, the grand Vizier of Mahomet, expelled the Genoese from Caffa in the Crimea; reduced that peninsula itself, and placed in it a tributary Khan, or sovereign, dependant on the Sultan. [i]

Other expeditions of the Sultan.

Acquisitions so vast, cemented by the able policy and martial character of Mahomet, excited terror throughout Europe, and menaced the subversion of Italy, exposed to the fury of the Janizaries, who impatiently demanded to be led against that beautiful, and defenceless country. But, fortune had opposed in the fifteenth century, insuperable obstacles to every attempt for its subjection; and the Turks, by severe experience, were long compelled to regard the Danube and the Adriatic, as the boun-

Terror of the Turkish arms.

Obstacles to their progress.

[h] La Croix, vol. i. p. 254. Knolles, p. 360, 361. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 97, 98.

[i] Cantemir, p. 111—113. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252, and p. 278.

daries

daries of their conquests. Even Venice alone, at this period, was able to arrest the progress of the Ottoman invasions. She was then at the highest point of her elevation. Possessed of a lucrative and extensive commerce; mistress of a powerful fleet, and a vast revenue; the Republic slowly and reluctantly gave way before the Mahometans. Her fortresses in the Morea, in Negropont, among the islands of the Archipelago, and in Dalmatia, not only withstood, but repeatedly repulsed the Bashaws of the Sultan: Mahomet himself was compelled with loss and ignominy to abandon the siege of Scutari; and that impregnable citadel was only ceded at length to the Turks, as the price of peace. It must be nevertheless confessed, that the Venetians dearly purchased these honorable testimonies of their valor and magnanimity. While they triumphed in Greece, on the shore of the Lesser Asia, and in Epirus, they were unable to protect their subjects nearer home, in Friuli and in Istria. The Turks, after having more than once made incursions almost to the vicinity of Venice itself, retired unmolested; carrying off or massacring the inhabitants, with the same inhumanity that had distinguished the barbarians, who desolated those provinces of the Roman empire, a thousand years before. [k]

[k] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 181—188, and p. 203—205, and p. 211, 212, and p. 231, 232, and p. 233—245, and p. 252—255, and p. 281—286. Cantemir, p. 110, 111. Knolles, p. 405—408, and p. 411—423. La Croix, vol. i. p. 258, and 266—274.

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Providence had raised up at the same period, a less powerful, but a more formidable and invincible barrier to Mahomet the Second, in the person of George Castriot, Prince of Epirus; more generally known in history by the name of Scanderbeg. This illustrious chieftain, whose exploits rendered him justly celebrated, seems to have possessed all the qualities requisite to supply the deficiency of political strength, or extent of dominion: an extraordinary vigor of body; unshaken fortitude; inexhaustible resources; united with an unextinguishable enmity to the Mahometan name and faith. Retired among the fastnesses of his native province, Albania, he defied the power of the Sultan; and Croïa, the capital of his contracted territories, tho' invested by the Turkish armies, repelled their utmost efforts. Sensible of the inestimable value of such a bulwark, the Kings of Naples, and the Venetians acting in concert, continually sustained the Prince of Epirus with pecuniary and military supplies; nor could either the treachery of Mahomet circumvent his vigilance, nor the superiority of the Turkish forces reduce him to capitulate. It was not till after the death of Scanderbeg, that Croïa having surrendered, Albania ceased from that time to form an independant state.[1]

Scanderbeg.

If these impediments delayed or arrested the progress of the Ottoman arms along the eastern shore of the Adriatic; still greater barriers were

[1] Knolles, p. 365—392, and p. 425, 426. La Croix, vol. i. p. 232—234, and p. 236, and p. 252, and p. 260, and p. 262—264.

imposed

imposed to them, when Mahomet attempted to penetrate beyond the Danube. Early in his reign, and soon after the capture of Constantinople, the Sultan in person attacked the city of Belgrade, justly regarded as the key of Hungary. That kingdom was then governed by Ladislaus, a feeble prince, who had not yet attained to manhood: but John Huniades, declared regent, compelled the Turks to retire with disgrace, after sustaining every calamity incident to a long and destructive siege. He breathed his last among the people whom he had rescued from a foreign yoke, only a few days subsequent to their deliverance; but his capacity, valor, and fortune, survived in his son, the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, who was chosen to fill the throne, left vacant soon afterwards by the death of Ladislaus. His reign, rendered memorable by a variety of great actions, and marked by its prosperity, may be regarded as *the golden age* of Hungary. During its continuance, neither Mahomet, nor Bajazet his successor, ventured to pass the Danube. The Hungarians, destined by a reverse of fortune, to experience in the sixteenth century, all the misfortunes of anarchy and tyranny; might justly be esteemed under Matthias Corvinus, the most flourishing and happy people to be found in Europe.[m]

John Huniades.

Matthias Corvinus.

The last obstacle to the Turkish conquests at this period, was the military order of knights, transferred in 1309 from Syria, to the island of

Knights of Rhodes.

[m] La Croix, vol. i. p. 246—248, and p. 281. Sacy, vol. i. p. 219—226.

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Rhodes. Their reputation for practising all the virtues of chivalry, together with their rigorous discipline, long protected them from invasion or attack: they remained in fact alone, surrounded by the ruins of the Greek empire, at a distance from every species of succour, except that which they derived from their own valor. It was not till towards the conclusion of his reign, that Mahomet, after having reduced the neighbouring islands, and the coast of Asia Minor, ventured on so hazardous an attempt as the siege of Rhodes. All the preparations and precautions requisite to insure its success, were made; and the Bashaw, to whom the conduct of the enterprize was entrusted, appears to have omitted no endeavours to justify the confidence reposed in him by the Sultan. But, neither superiority of numbers, nor disparity of force, terrified the Grand Master, d'Aubusson, who sustained with intrepidity and firmness, the impetuous ardor of the Mahometans. They retired at length from before the place, after having held it invested three months: and Rhodes, like Belgrade, remained unmolested, till the reign of Solyman in the ensuing century.[n]

Unsuccessful siege of that city.

Capture of Otranto.

A less difficult and brilliant, but a more alarming capture to the states of Italy and of Europe, consoled the Ottoman court for their late disgrace. Otranto in Apulia, situate opposite to the shores of Greece, after a short

[n] Cantemir, p. 115. Knolles, p. 427—432. La Croix, vol. i. p. 283, 284.

resist-

resistance being taken by the Vizier Achmed, was instantly garrisoned with near twenty thousand men. Provisions sufficient for a year, were brought into the city; and the Turkish commander left no doubts of his determination to preserve a fortress, which opened him a passage to Rome. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, son and heir of Ferdinand, King of Naples, at the head of a numerous army, vainly attempted to retake Otranto: he was repulsed in all his attacks*.

Danger, and condition of Italy at this period.

If ever Italy was in serious and imminent danger of becoming a Mahometan province, we must own that it was so at this period. Every circumstance favored the progress of the Vizier. The Neapolitans, oppressed under the feeble and tyrannical administration of Ferdinand, successor of Alfonso the Wise, were altogether incapable of expelling the Turks. The disaffection, as well as pusillanimity, which equally distinguished the princes and the people, only thirteen years afterwards, when Charles the Eighth of France over-ran Naples without resistance; may demonstrate how little effectual opposition could have been made from that quarter, to Mahomet the Second. From the Roman pontiffs, little except spiritual aid was to be expected. Such indeed was the consternation spread through the antient capital of the world, at the intelligence of Achmed's having landed in Apulia; that Sixtus the Fourth, who

* Laugier, vol. vii. p. 371—373. Knolles, p. 432. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 164, 165.

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then occupied the chair of St. Peter, prepared to abandon Rome, as becoming an insecure residence. Florence, though enjoying internal opulence and prosperity under the benign administration of Lorenzo of Medicis, could oppose only feeble impediments to the disciplined fury of the Janizaries, conducted by the most experienced commanders of the East.

Change of circumstances, under Solyman the Second.

This combination of events, tending to facilitate the conquest of Italy in 1481, no longer existed, when Solyman sent his fleets under Barbarossa or Dragut, to desolate the coasts of Sicily and Calabria, or to form the siege of Nice, more than half a century later. The Neapolitans had then become subjects of the Emperor Charles the Fifth: the defence of the city of Naples was entrusted to veteran troops drawn from that prince's hereditary dominions; and all the collected force of the Spanish monarchy would have been drawn out, to withstand any serious invasion of the Turks. But, as far as we are enabled to judge, only the death of Mahomet could have rescued the Italians from slavery, after the capture of Otranto; and never did the vacancy of the Ottoman throne take place at a more critical juncture. The Sultan's anxious desire to overturn the capital and residence of the supreme head of the Christian faith, was well known; while his religious zeal would have inflamed and supported his love of glory, and thirst of dominion. The province of history, strictly considered, is only to record, and not to speculate: but, it seems

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hardly possible not to reflect with some degree of gratitude and satisfaction, on this interposition of Providence, which rescued Italy from barbarism, by imposing limits to the Mussulman enthusiasm. If Mahomet had lived only a few years longer, Naples and Florence would probably have shared the fate of Athens and of Corinth; while Rome might have become the seat of a Bashaw: and the superb church of St. Peter, which rose in the sixteenth century under ten succeeding pontiffs, would have been ill-replaced by Mosques and Minarets.

1481. Death of Mahomet.

From so vast and awful a revolution, Italy was snatched by the unexpected termination of the Sultan's life, in the vigor of his age and faculties, when he had not completed his fifty-second year, while he was ardently occupied in schemes of further conquest. The Turkish commander who had been left by Achmed in Otranto, induced by the consideration of his sovereign's decease, and the confusion which had ensued at Constantinople relative to the succession, rather than compelled by famine or distress; reluctantly agreed to surrender the place upon honorable conditions. To the disgrace of the Christian name, they were violated: the Janizaries, detained by Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, were even condemned to serve in the Neapolitan gallies; but, the menaces of the new Sultan speedily extricated, and restored them to freedom.[p]

Surrender of Otranto.

[p] Knolles, p. 433. Cantemir, p. 115. Laugier, vol. vii. p. 373—376. La Croix, vol. i. p. 285, 286. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 167, 168.

Maho-

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1481. Character of Mahomet the Second.

Mahomet the Second, considered as a conqueror, may be justly ranked among the severest scourges of the human race, who have existed in the history of the world. He has, nevertheless been outdone and obscured by another scourge of providence, who has appeared in the nineteenth century; whose perfidies, crimes, and systematic spirit of unprincipled ambition, sustained by energies of mind and character rarely dispensed to man, have rendered the European continent, from Lisbon to Moscow, a theatre of desolation. Mahomet's inhumanity, and restless passion for extending his conquests, unquestionably deluged Europe as well as Asia with blood, during thirty years. We ought, however, to lend a very academic faith to the legends and aspersions, with which the Christians have defamed his character; aspersions which naturally originated from their detestation of so formidable an enemy. He was endowed with talents of the rarest kind: in activity, vigilance, and the science of war, he has been seldom equalled. His love of justice, and his severity towards those who oppressed his people by an abuse of their power or offices, were exemplary. He exhibited a striking proof of his abhorrence of crimes, by not permitting Bernardo Bandini, one of the assassins of Lorenzo and Juliano de Medicis, who had fled for refuge to Constantinople, to pollute that capital by his residence. Bandini, arrested by order of the Sultan, in 1479, was sent in chains to Florence, where he expiated his offences on the

the scaffold. Mahomet professed his respect on all occasions, for the character, and his regard for the person of Lorenzo de Medicis: while his invitation of Bellino, the celebrated Venetian painter, to Constantinople, as well as the rewards with which he honored the labors of the artist, may rescue him from the reproach of barbarism. [q] CHAP. XIX. 1481.

No event could have proved more favorable to the repose and independance of Europe, than the death of a Sultan, whose whole reign had been passed in war; the years of which had been marked with perpetual inroads or devastations of Greece, Hungary, and Italy. The talents of Bajazet the Second, who succeeded to the throne, were not only less dangerous, but his activity was inferior to that of his father. Zizim, a younger son of Mahomet, who long disputed with his brother, the supreme authority, diverted his attention from foreign expeditions. After the defeat and flight of Zizim, the new Sultan turned his arms against Egypt, then governed by the Mammeluke princes: but, far from effecting the reduction of the kingdom, he was repeatedly defeated with prodigious slaughter; and if the Christian states had availed themselves of the opportunity to attack him, it is probable that the Ottoman power might have been reduced within narrower limits. Except the transitory appearance of a Turkish fleet on the 1481—1500. Reign of Bajazet the Second.

[q] Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medicis, octavo edit. vol. i. p. 259. La Croix, vol. i. p. 285. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 168, 169. Knolles, p 433. Cantemir, p. 115.

coasts

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coasts of Andalusia, which contented itself with only committing depredations; and some irruptions into Croatia or Hungary, the object of which was merely plunder; Europe enjoyed a tranquillity of fifteen years, succeeding the death of Mahomet[r]. This fallacious calm was followed by hostilities, directed against Venice; while Spain and Austria, who ought to have felt so deep an interest in preserving the Venetian possessions scattered thro'out the Levant, instead of aiding her efforts, regarded them with indifference. The Republic, after sustaining without any ally, the whole pressure of the Turkish force, was compelled to sue for peace: but, she did not condescend to adopt so humiliating a measure, till her naval strength had been exhausted; till the most important places which she had occupied in Greece, or thro'out the Morea, were captured; and till the province of Friuli had been desolated by a savage band of Tartars, who massacred or carried off the greater part of the inhabitants. The maritime cities of Lepanto, Modon, and Coron, together with the fortress of Durazzo in Albania, were sacrificed in order to terminate so ruinous a war[s]. It must be confessed that Europe owed no inconsiderable obligations to the long and generous struggle supported by the Venetians, for more than a century, against

Tranquillity.

Rupture with Venice.

[r] La Croix, vol. i. p. 288, and p. 298—300, and p. 304. Cantemir, p. 118—124, and p. 130. Knolles, p. 437—442, and p. 447—450, and p. 452.

[s] Laugier, vol. viii. p. 89—92, and p. 112—117, and p. 123—129, and p. 144—146. Knolles, p. 457—462. Cantemir, p. 133.

enemies

enemies who possessed every advantage. To their magnanimous efforts, were principally to be attributed the safety and preservation of all the provinces, that border on the northern, or the western shore of the Adriatic.

Repose of Bajazet's reign.

The last ten years of Bajazet's life were passed in the most profound repose; and the Turks, after having carried their arms over so many kingdoms, might under his reign have become acquainted with the arts of peace. The Sultan, infirm, broken by diseases, and no longer capable of appearing in person at the head of his troops, occupied his leisure by researches of a literary kind; peculiarly the study of Averroës, an Arabian philosopher, whose writings on medicine and astronomy were held in high estimation among all the eastern nations. From these recluse and speculative amusements, he was roused by the revolt of Selim, one of his sons. That ambitious and unnatural prince, having inspired the Janizaries with resentment at the inglorious tranquillity in which the empire was sunk; and having at the same time inflamed their ardor to propagate the Mussulman faith, in obedience to the law of their prophet, by the sword; succeeded in rendering his father odious, as well as contemptible. After a longer resistance than might have been expected from so aged and pacific a Sultan, Bajazet yielded: quitting Constantinople, he began his journey towards Demotica, a town situate in the vicinity of Adrianople, which he had chosen for his retreat; and which has been rendered famous in the

Revolt of Selim.

Deposition, and death of Bajazet.

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1501—1512. the history of the last century, by the residence of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, after his flight from Pultowa. But, Selim, whose presence was demanded in Asia, to quell the party of Achmet, his brother and competitor; dreaded the consequences of leaving the capital, at the commencement of his reign, while the deposed sovereign was still alive. This consideration proved fatal to Bajazet, whose end was hastened by poison; and the death, not only of Achmet, but of every other member of the Imperial family, cemented the new administration [t]

1512—1516. Accession of Selim the First. Detestable as were the means by which Selim acquired the supreme authority, his transcendent abilities enabled him not only to render it respected; but, to enlarge and extend the dominions transmitted to him from his ancestors. His reign, one of the shortest in the Turkish annals; from its commencement to its termination, hardly exceeding eight years; forms nevertheless an Epocha in history, by the subversion of the kingdom of Egypt, and the extinction of the Mammeluke Sultans, who had governed it for three centuries. After having subjected Armenia, and received the voluntary homage of the inhabitants of Diarbeck, the Mesopotamia of antiquity; Selim entered Persia. The superior discipline of his infantry, aided by the strength of his artillery, eminently contributed to the decisive victory which he obtained over the Persians, near the city of Tauris: and the prin-

[t] Cantemir, p. 136—142. Knolles, p. 480—496. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 224—232. La Croix, vol. i. p. 332—338.

cipal

cipal impediment, which prevented him from effecting the permanent reduction of the country itself, arose less from the valor or resistance of the nation, than from the difficulty of subsisting his troops in the deserts that extend beyond the Euphrates[u]. Similar obstacles had constantly attended and checked the Roman legions, during near four centuries, from the time of Lucullus and Pompey, down to the reign of Julian, when engaged in prosecuting their conquests in those remote provinces. Irritated at the indirect support, which Ismael, the sovereign of Persia, had derived from the Sultan of Egypt, Selim transferred his resentment to the latter prince. Campson Gawri, who then possessed the Egyptian throne, reigned over all the countries extending from Aleppo and Damascus, to the borders of Nubia. Cairo, his residence, contended in population, wealth, and splendor, with the most flourishing capitals of the east. Neither deficient in courage, nor in any of the qualities becoming his station; the total defeat which he sustained in the vicinity of Aleppo, was due more to the treachery and desertion of his own officers, than to the genius of Selim, or the superior bravery of the Janizaries. Campson fell in the action, after giving proofs of the most heroic intrepidity; and the conqueror, improving his success, passed without delay or injury, the sandy or desolate tracts

Invasion of Egypt.

Death of Campson Gawri.

[u] Cantemir, p. 145—154. Knolles, p. 505—520. La Croix, vol. i. p. 350—354.

which

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which separate Syria and Palestine from the frontiers of Egypt.

Arriving at the gates of Cairo, he found another Sultan, Tomanbai, whom the Mammelukes had elected; and who was already prepared to defend his newly acquired dominions. But the fortune and resources of Selim surmounted every effort. Tomanbai, vanquished like his predecessor, and reduced to fly, was discovered, conducted to his capital, as a criminal, and executed with circumstances of equal barbarity and ignominy. Cairo, partly destroyed by fire, and abandoned to the rage of the Turkish soldiery, submitted; while Egypt, which had been successively conquered in every age of the world, by the Persians, Macedonians, Romans, and Arabs, passed again under a foreign yoke. We have seen it reduced to the obedience of republican France with the same facility, in our own time. Selim, embarking on the Nile, like the first Cæsar, descended that celebrated river to Alexandria, rather to gratify his curiosity, and to accept the homage of the inhabitants, than with a view to confirm his acquisition[x]. It is difficult to believe, that previous to his final departure from Egypt, he had the inhumanity, after assembling the survivors of the Mammelukes on the banks of the Nile, to cause them without distinction to be indiscriminately massacred, and thrown into the stream. In this

Defeat and death of Tomanbai.

Subjection of Egypt.

[x] Cantemir, p. 156—159, and p. 162—166. Knolles, p. 521—552. La Croix, vol. i. p. 353—356. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 259—279.

act,

act, committed with a view to exterminate the race of foreign slaves by whom Egypt had been so long held in subjection; we trace all the savage ferocity of a barbarian, who not having hesitated to imbrue his hands in the blood of his nearest relations, in order to ascend the throne, cemented his usurpation by still greater crimes.[y] CHAP. XIX. 1517.

The terror of the Ottoman name did not less extend into Arabia and Africa: it may even be questioned whether the Roman arms, at any period, effected conquests more remote, in those quarters of the earth, than were produced by the victories of Selim. The tribes of Arabs, inhabiting the vast deserts from Barca and Cyrené on the shore of the Mediterranean, to the entrance of the Red Sea, and the borders of Abyssinian; appeared by their embassadors at Cairo, to receive the orders of their new sovereign. Even the Scherif of Mecca himself, presented him the keys of the holy city; invoking his protection as the representative of Mahomet, and the supreme chief of the Mussulman faith[z]. Acquisitions so vast, however they might gratify, were far from relaxing the ambition of Selim: after having desolated Asia, and subjected Egypt, he was occupied in preparations, whose object was conceived to regard the island of Rhodes, or Italy; when a disease, which ma- 1518. Terror, produced by the Turkish arms. 1519, 1520. Death of Selim.

[y] La Croix, vol. i. p. 356, 357. Cantemir, p. 166. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 280. Knolles, p. 553.

[z] Cantemir, p. 167—169. Knolles, ibid. La Croix, vol. i. p. 357.

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nifested itself on his return to Constantinople, accompanied with the most acute and incurable symptoms, terminated his career. Under the pressure of this malady, he expired in the prime of life; and history, which commemorates the retribution sometimes inflicted by Providence on tyrants, has not failed to record, that he breathed his last on the very spot, where he had caused his father Bajazet to be poisoned. [a]

1520. Review of his reign, and actions.

If we appreciate his administration as a sovereign, not by the parricide which opened his way to the throne, nor by the crimes which sustained him in it; but, by the great events with which his reign is crouded, we must admit his claim to admiration. In talents for war, in solidity of judgment, and depth of penetration, he was not surpassed by any of the princes who preceded or followed him. His reduction of Egypt annihilated the only power, which could effectually and speedily co-operate with the Christian states, in order to oppose his progress beyond the Danube, or in the Mediterranean. Europe, which fully experienced the injurious effect of this important conquest, under the reign of Solyman the Second, had reason to deplore the apathy that pervaded those kingdoms, which were most deeply interested in the fate of the Mammeluke Sultans. Persia was too far removed by its local position on the globe, to afford the

[a] La Croix, vol. i. p. 357—359. Cantemir, p. 169—172. Knolles, p. 561.

same

same assistance; and too weak or divided, to sustain the shock of the Ottoman forces. Almost every moment of Selim's life after his accession, became devoted to war; and it was believed that policy, not less than ambition, propelled him to unremitting exertion. The formidable body of the Janizaries, to whose revolt from Bajazet he owed his throne; if destitute of employment, might have again deprived him of the supreme power: the Sultan saw with pleasure, their numbers reduced to less than a third part of the force which they could boast, before his expeditions to Egypt and Persia. Of forty thousand, only about twelve thousand survived those destructive campaigns.[b]

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1520. Sublimity, and extent of his views.

To Selim the First was due the formation of the Turkish marine; and he constructed the arsenal of Pera in the suburbs of Constantinople, as well as many of the most sumptuous edifices, by which the principal cities of his dominions were decorated[c]. It is not from a prince of so fierce and martial a disposition, that we should naturally expect any protection of letters: but the ductility of his parts qualified him for every pursuit. His leisure, like that of his father Bajazet, was devoted to the sciences held in esteem among the Mahometans: even the compositions of his poetry which remain, attest the variety and elegance of his talents. We are necessarily led to regret that crimes so flagitious, and abilities so distinguished, should have been blended in the same cha-

His taste for the sciences.

[b] La Croix, vol. i. p. 358. [c] Ibid. p. 360.

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racter; but, history, antient and modern, is full of similar examples. The elder Dionysius, Sylla, Catiline, and Tiberius, in antiquity; Richard the Third, and Cromwell, to a certain degree, in our own annals; Cæsar Borgia, and Louis Sforza, Duke of Milan, in those of Italy; but more than all these instances, the Corsican revolutionary *Emperor of the French;* all may illustrate the proposition. Selim, who like Bonaparte, emulating the fame of Alexander and of Cæsar, delighted in the perusal of the exploits which immortalized those princes; caused the Greek, or Roman historians who had commemorated them, to be translated into the Turkish language [d]. His genius survived in Solyman, his only son and successor.

State of Hungary, at this period.

Before we enter upon a reign, the measures of which became peculiarly directed against the Christian Powers, and whose effects were deeply, as well as lastingly felt throughout all Europe; it is indispensable to survey the state of those kingdoms or countries, which by their situation lay most exposed to the Ottoman arms. Scanderbeg, so long the terror of the Turks, was no more, and his little principality of Epirus had been swallowed up in the dominions of Selim. Hungary, on the other hand, had already declined from the point of elevation and prosperity, to which it had attained under Matthias Corvinus. Not content with expelling the Turks, and confining them to the provinces beyond the Danube; that active and

[d] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 284. La Croix, vol. i. p. 358. Cantemir, 172, 173.

enter-

enterprizing prince had enlarged his dominions at their expence, by adding to them Walachia, Moldavia, and Bosnia [e]. But, under Ladislaus his successor, and peculiarly during the minority of Louis the Second, who ascended the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, only a short time before the accession of Solyman, the vigor of the government disappeared. Luxury, effeminacy, together with the vices of opulent states, had extinguished the generous and martial spirit by which the Hungarians had been previously characterised: while the ignorance, or inattention of the ministers who surrounded the young king, permitted the frontiers to lie open to invasion, or to remain unprovided with sufficient means of defence. [f]

1520. Luxury and vices.

Venice, like Hungary, by a singular fatality, had passed her meridian about the same period. The wounds, inflicted by the League of Cambray, which had nearly extinguished the Republic itself, were recent and not yet completely closed. A calamity, in its nature still more irremediable, the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope by the Portugueze, had subverted the foundations of their commerce; the only permanent and solid support of their wealth or national consideration: nor were the Venetians any longer able to repair their losses, with the celerity and facility which they had displayed under Mahomet and Bajazet, in the preceding cen-

Venice. Its declension.

[e] Sacy, Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. i. p. 222—240.
[f] Sacy, vol. i. p. 248, 249.

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tury. But, as if to occupy the place left vacant by the decline of two such powerful states, justly considered to constitute the bulwarks of Germany and of Italy, Charles the Fifth had arisen; who, by the possession of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, when added to his patrimonial inheritance of Spain and Austria, sustained by the treasures of the New World, was equally interested, as he was able to extend protection to his vast dominions.

1520. Charles the Fifth.

In the interval of near forty years which had elapsed between the death of Mahomet the Second, and the beginning of Solyman's reign; the successors of St. Peter had likewise, in addition to their spiritual authority, acquired no inconsiderable degree of temporal power. Alexander the Sixth, and his son Cæsar Borgia, laid the foundations of their territorial consequence: Julius the Second had disclosed the resources, possessed by an enterprizing or ambitious pontiff; and Leo the Tenth aspired to hold the balance of Italy. Unfortunately for the repose and security of Europe, the new king of Spain, occupied at the commencement of his government, by insurrections in Castile; by negotiations or intrigues to procure the Imperial crown of Germany; and by contests of political, or personal animosity with Francis the First; was not yet at leisure to turn his principal force against the Turks. Leo, immersed in elegant pleasures little suited to the sanctity of his office; attracted by the lustre which his protection of letters eminently diffused over his name; or engaged

Roman pontiffs.

Conduct of Leo the Tenth.

gaged in hostile enterprizes to enlarge the patrimony of the church; beheld without much emotion, the alarming conquests of Selim. Though his penetration enabled him to predict, that the extinction of the Mammeluke princes, and the reduction of Egypt, would be speedily followed by the invasion of Italy; yet he appears, down to the last moments of his life, to have attended solely to the aggrandizement of his family. Instead of exerting his influence to unite the Christian States against the common enemy, he contented himself with making processions, to avert the wrath of Heaven: and while his troops were employed in Lombardy against the French, he carried the Holy Sacrament, barefooted, through the streets of Rome, to deprecate the misfortunes which menaced the Holy See from the Turkish arms. [g]

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Under these circumstances so favorable to his designs, Solyman acceded to the throne. The natural elevation of his mind, together with a thirst for glory, impelled him to great and daring enterprizes: while advantages which none of his predecessors had enjoyed, facilitated their execution. The only son of Selim, he beheld no competitor for the succession; and the empire was not convulsed, or thrown into disorder at his accession, by a contest between different claimants, as had happened at the close of the two preceding reigns. His education, which had framed him for the fatigues of

Accession of Solyman the Second.

Education and qua-

[g] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 287.

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government, had likewise expanded his understanding. Selim, with a magnanimity which we cannot sufficiently admire, had neither banished him to Magnesia, nor to Iconium, as had been frequently practised by the jealousy of preceding Sultans; nor had he permitted Solyman to be brought up in the soft effeminacy of the Seraglio, in ignorance of his duties, among slaves and eunuchs. Perceiving in him a disposition to receive impressions equally beneficial to himself, and to his future subjects, Selim committed his son to the care of the Bashaw Peri; who accustomed him betimes to the exertion of every manly and generous effort, while he acquainted his pupil with the interests of the different nations, whom he was one day destined to command [h]. The first acts of Solyman's administration were equally dictated by wisdom, humanity, and policy. His restitution of the effects which had been unjustly seized or confiscated during his father's reign, conciliated the affections, while it excited the veneration of the people: his devotion, liberality, and courtesy completed the favorable impression. [i]

1520. Qualities of the new Sultan.

His administration.

1521. Siege of Belgrade.

Animated by the dying exhortations of Selim, as much as by his own desire to accomplish the reduction of Hungary, he determined to attack Belgrade in person. The city was not unprovided in itself with the means of defence: but, the spirit which John Huniades had inspired

[h] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 288, 289. Knolles, p. 567, 568.

[i] La Croix, vol. i. p. 362.

among

among his countrymen, when he repulsed Mahomet the Second, near seventy years preceding, had become extinct. Treachery aided the efforts of the Turks; and after a siege of considerable duration, rendered Solyman master of a place, justly considered as one of the strongest barriers against his power or encroachments[k]. Yet, such was the supine and lethargic security of the court of Buda, that even so important a loss, which menaced the existence of Hungary itself; far from spreading alarm, did not suspend the festivities in which the capital was immersed, during the nuptials of the young King, Louis the Second, with the Arch-duchess, Mary of Austria[l]. If the imbecility of his conduct merits contempt, the folly and inhumanity of his treatment of Solyman's embassadors, excites indignation. Resenting on the ministers of the Sultan, whom the laws of nations should have protected, the misfortunes occasioned by his own want of capacity or exertion; he sent them back to Constantinople, mutilated in a manner equally cruel and ignominious: while Solyman, satisfied with his present acquisition, and desirous of a temporary truce on the Hungarian frontier, prepared to turn his arms towards another quarter.[m]

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1521.

Inactivity of Louis, King of Hungary.

Rhodes, so celebrated in the most remote antiquity, the theme of Pindar, situated at the

1522. Attack of Rhodes.

[k] Cantemir, p. 175, 176. Knolles, p. 569. La Croix, vol. i. p. 364—366. Sacy, vol. i. p. 249. Venel, vol. ii. p. 301—304.

[l] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 304.

[m] Sacy, vol. i. p. 249. La Croix, vol. i. p. 366.

entrance

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1522. entrance of the Grecian Archipelago, near the coast of Asia, had long survived the fate of the numerous islands in its vicinity; its position enabling the knights by whom it was held, to molest and intercept the whole commerce of the Black Sea, as well as of the Mediterranean. Like Belgrade, having repulsed the efforts of Mahomet the Second, Rhodes was regarded as impregnable. But, Solyman, stimulated by a desire of atchieving an enterprize in which his predecessors had failed, and irritated by the assistance which the Grand Master had sent to Tomanbai, Sultan of Egypt; commanded it to be invested by sea and land. His presence became necessary, in order to revive the ardor of the Janizaries; and after a siege of six months, during which every resource was exhausted on the part of the besieged, the place surrendered by capitulation[n]. We cannot reflect without surprize, on the inaction of the European states, and their indifference to so invaluable a possession. Venice alone, alive to the important consequences of its fall, equipped a fleet for the relief of Rhodes; and if Adrian the Sixth, newly elected to the papal see on the death of Leo the Tenth, would have dispatched the squadron on board of which he arrived at Ostia, to act in conjunction with the Venetians, it is probable that Solyman must have relin-

Prosecution of the siege.

[n] La Croix, vol. i. p. 366—372. Cantemir, p. 176, 177. Knolles, p. 569—600. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 306—338.

quished

quished his attempt[o]. But, the pontiff, edu- CHAP. XIX.
cated in the privacy and retirement of a Flemish university, was destitute of the elevation of character requisite for his new station. Charles the Fifth, in raising him to the highest eminence of spiritual power, only exposed the defects and incapacity, which might have lain concealed in the professor of Louvain, or in the Archbishop of Toledo. Rhodes was lost; while the Sultan, rendered more formidable by his success, seemed to regard his acquisition, as only the prelude to new and greater enterprizes. 1522. Capture of Rhodes.

The first object of his ambition was the conquest of Hungary; and so avowed were his intentions, that in order to commence the campaign early in the year, he passed the preceding winter near the frontiers, at Belgrade. Yet, by an infatuation or negligence, of which there are few more fatal examples in history, no adequate preparations were made to sustain the impending attack. The temerity and precipitation of the young King's subsequent conduct, completed his own disgraces, and accomplished the destruction of the Hungarian monarchy. After having committed the supreme command of his forces to an ecclesiastic, unskilled in the science of war; instead of waiting for the German and Transylvanian troops, which were on their march to join him, he ventured with very inferior numbers, to advance and give battle to the enemy. The celebrated engagement of 1523—1525. Invasion of Hungary. 1526.

[o] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 329.

Mohatz,

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1526. Battle of Mohatz.

Mohatz, near the banks of the Danube, was speedily decided in favour of the Turks; and the death of Louis himself, who was suffocated in a morass, left the throne without a successor[p]. From this æra, during more than one hundred and fifty years, till towards the close of the seventeenth century, no European kingdom underwent such a variety of calamities, as Hungary. Desolated alternately by Christians and Mahometans; the crown itself disputed by various competitors; the inhabitants, massacred, or swept away into slavery; no trace remained of the glory and felicity which it had enjoyed under Matthias Corvinus.

Calamities of Hungary.

The victory of Mohatz, however decisive, was not, however, productive of the immediate effects, naturally to have been expected from such an event. Solyman, compelled to quit his conquest, by an insurrection of the most alarming nature which took place in Asia Minor, repassed the Danube, and returned to Constantinople: while John Zapoli, Prince of Transylvania, and the Arch-duke Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who were both successively raised to the Hungarian throne by their respective factions, continued to augment the general confusion[q]. Oppressed by the superior strength and resources of the Arch-duke, who, with the aid of the Germans, having

[p] Sacy, vol. i. p. 251—257. Knolles, p. 601—603. Cantemir, p. 180 Vanel, vol. ii. p. 341—348.

[q] Sacy, vol. i. p. 258, and p. 264—270. La Croix, vol. i. p. 382. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 350—358.

already

already secured the succession of Bohemia, had rendered himself master of the greater part of Hungary, Zapoli besought the protection of the Turks. Solyman re-appearing after an absence of some years, traversed the kingdom as a conqueror; entered Buda, the metropolis; and with a disinterestedness or magnanimity rarely found, permitted the Transylvanian, his ally, to retain the supreme power, of which it was easy to have deprived him[r]. It was not till after the decease of Zapoli, that the Sultan, yielding to the dictates of his ambition, reduced Hungary into the form of a Turkish province, and transformed the capital into a Mahometan city. Buda then became the permanent residence of a Bashaw; the churches were converted into Mosques; and the Arch-duke Ferdinand, master only of some garrisons lying near the Austrian frontier, retained little more than the name and honors of a king.[s]

Reduction of that kingdom, into the form of a Turkish province.

Not satisfied with having subjected the Hungarians, Solyman attempted to carry his arms beyond the limits of that kingdom, into Germany. Trusting rather to the terror which his reputation and presence inspired, than to the preparations demanded for so difficult an enterprize, he even ventured to approach, and to invest Vienna itself. That city was in fact destitute of almost all the requisites for a long, or a vigorous defence; and to the presumptuous

Solyman invades Germany.

[r] Cantemir, p. 185. Knolles, p. 609. La Croix, vol. i. p. 386—388. Sacy, vol i. p. 271.

[s] Sacy, vol. i. p. 296—304. La Croix, vol. i. p. 424—426.

negli-

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1529. He is repulsed before Vienna.

negligence of the Turks, who omitted to bring battering cannon of a sufficient size, rather than to the skill or ability of the besieged, was due the repulse which the Sultan sustained [t]. Kara Mustapha, the Grand Vizier of Mahomet the Fourth, who again besieged Vienna, about one hundred and fifty years later, miscarried in like manner only from his own consummate ignorance, procrastination, and want of exertion. It is curious to reflect how narrowly the capital of Austria, long the residence of the German emperors, while the German empire survived, escaped from passing under the Ottoman dominion, like the metropolis of the Greek empire. We have seen Vienna twice entered, once in 1805, and again in 1809, by a more subtle, ferocious, and formidable chief, than either Solyman, or Kara Mustapha. The Turkish Sultan never undertook during his long reign, to repeat so hazardous an experiment; and he always, when speaking of Vienna, denominated it his disgrace and ignominy [u]. The conquests of the Turks were bounded by Presburg, to which place Ferdinand transferred the seat of government; nor was he, though continually defeated in his endeavours to recover Buda, at any period totally ejected from some portion of Upper Hungary.

Obstacles to the further progress of Solyman.

The distance of the Austrian provinces, from the capital of the Ottoman sovereigns; the

[t] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 145. Knolles, p. 610—614. Cantemir, p. 190—193. La Croix, vol. i. p. 390—392. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 360—365.

[u] Busbequii Epistolæ. Epistola quarta, p. 384.

climate,

climate, which was too severe for troops habituated to the warm, or temperate regions of Asia; and the bravery of the Germans, who were compelled to defend their dearest possessions;—all these circumstances conspired to check the Mahometan progress, far more than the arms or efforts of the house of Austria. The German empire was in a great measure abandoned to its destiny, by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, notwithstanding the obligations imposed on him from his quality of its chief, as well as from proximity of blood to the King of Hungary, his brother [x]. Engaged in expeditions of personal glory, to the coast of Africa; attentive to the defence and protection of his Italian dominions; or reduced to oppose the invasions of Francis the First; he rarely appeared in the empire, and made only feeble exertions for its preservation. Even when the contributions of the German princes and states, had placed him at the head of an immense army, with which he might have entered Buda, and reconquered the kingdom; neglecting the favorable occasion, he permitted Solyman to retreat unmolested to Constantinople [y]. If the Turks could not subject, they were allowed to desolate the empire: Styria, Moravia, and Silesia, were repeatedly inundated by barbarous troops of Janizaries, who carried off the wretched inhabitants; while the cavalry,

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1529.

1532. Ravages committed by the Turks, in Germany.

[x] Busbeq. Epist. p. 385.

[y] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 150. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 370—372. Knolles, p. 618—623.

still

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1532. still more enterprizing, penetrated beyond Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and spread consternation to the borders of Franconia[z]. It must be owned, that under Frederic the Third, the Imperial dignity appears scarcely more degraded or insulted, than at the time when it was vested in Charles the Fifth, the most powerful monarch in Europe, King of Spain, and master of the American continent.

1533—1539. Naval enterprizes of Solyman.

The whole reign of Solyman may be said to have passed in hostilities, rarely intermitted, against the two branches of the house of Austria. While his armies overran Hungary and Transylvania, the Turkish fleets carried terror thro'out every part of the Mediterranean. Even the internal dissensions and domestic feuds of the Seraglio, or the distant and unfortunate expeditions undertaken against Persia, did not long suspend the animosity of the Sultan. Barbarossa, the ablest naval commander of the age, who, from the condition of a simple Corsair, had become admiral and Captain Bashaw; perpetually hovered over the coasts of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. It would be difficult to calculate the enormous amount of the damages, sustained from the ravages of this celebrated pirate, during near fourteen years, that he occupied his station at the head of the Turkish navy. It would be much more painful to recapitulate, or to particularize the calamities, inflicted by him on the defenceless natives of

Barbarossa.

[z] La Croix, vol. i. p. 396. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 373—376.

the

the various islands, which are scattered from Ivica and Majorca, to the entrance of the Adriatic; as well as at Reggio, Messina, and every part of Calabria, or Apulia[a]. The superiority of the Turks under Solyman's reign, is in no respect more forcibly proved, than in these inhuman and frequent depredations, from which all the exertions of Charles the Fifth could not protect his subjects. Andrew Doria, who commanded the Imperial fleet, seldom ventured to engage, and never vanquished Barbarossa; though the Spanish gallies were joined on various occasions, by those of Venice, and of the papal see. Far from making any impression on the Ottoman empire, the confederates only aggravated their misfortunes, by loading each other with recriminations, and charges of cowardice, or treachery. It may in fact be justly doubted whether Doria, notwithstanding his high merit, considered as a citizen of Genoa, did not betray, or desert the common cause; peculiarly in the famous action which took place between the two fleets, near La Prevesa, on the coast of Albania. The Venetians were so convinced of his disinclination, if not repugnance to attack Barbarossa, notwithstanding the advantageous circumstances under which he might have forced the Turkish admiral to hazard a battle; that they thought it adviseable

Superiority of the Turkish fleets.

Feeble efforts of the Christian powers.

[a] La Croix, vol. i. p. 400—408, and p. 410, and p. 412—416. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 376—385, and p. 391—399, and p. 409—415, and p. 420—432. Knolles, p. 635—645, and p. 687—691. Laugier, vol. ix. p. 520—547.

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1533—1539. to make a separate peace, upon any terms. It was procured from the Sultan, not without difficulty, by a cession of their last valuable possessions and fortresses in the Morea; accompanied with the renunciation of their right to fourteen islands of the Archipelago, which had been previously captured by Solyman.[b]

1540—1544. Expeditions of Charles the Fifth.

Charles, tho' abandoned by his ally, nevertheless continued the war; but, with little glory, and less advantage. The expedition which, at an early period of his reign he undertook against Tunis, had been crowned with signal success; and the brilliancy, as well as seeming disinterestedness of the enterprize, conduced to raise his reputation. He appeared on that occasion, in an elevated point of view, as the champion and protector of all the Christian states. But, the benefit resulting from the capture, proved transitory; Tunis being reconquered in a few years by the Moors, who instantly claimed the protection of the Porte. In his attempt upon Algiers, the Emperor not only rejected every exhortation of Doria, who dissuaded him from commencing it, at so unpropitious and advanced a season of the year; but he sacrificed at the most critical juncture, the interests of his brother Ferdinand, and all the duties imposed on him by his imperial station. It is clear that Hungary might not only have been conquered, but that the Turks would have been driven beyond the Danube, into Servia and Bulgaria, by

Unsuccessful enterprize against Algiers.

[b] Laugier, vol. ix. p. 555—579. Knolles, p. 691—694. Cantemir, p. 204. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 440—450. La Croix, vol. i. p. 420—422.

the

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the army which was swallowed up in the waves, or exterminated by the Moors, on the coast of Africa. [c]

1540—1544.

Instead of retaining Tunis, or subjecting Algiers, he found himself unable to defend his own dominions. Barbarossa committed his annual accustomed ravages, from the entrance of the Adriatic, to the straits of Gibraltar; returning in triumph to Constantinople, laden with slaves and plunder. The fleet of France having formed a junction with that of Solyman, they carried on their joint depredations or hostilities against Nice, the Tuscan coast, and every power allied with, or subject to Spain[d]. If we try the measure embraced by Francis the First and Henry the Second, in thus forming so close and offensive an alliance with the Sultan, by the feelings, prejudices, and modes of thinking universally adopted in the sixteenth century, which constitute the only just criterion; we shall find it difficult or impossible not to affix to it our condemnation. The antipathy which then subsisted between the followers of Mahomet, and the Christians; the ferocity, or rather, inhumanity which marked the former, in their treatment of the unfortunate victims who fell into their hands; together with the sacrifice of every generous or magnanimous sentiment, to the gratification of their animosity against the Emperor Charles the Fifth; — have justly conduced to raise the indignation of posterity

Ravages of Barbarossa.

Alliance between the French kings and Solyman.

[c] La Croix, vol. i. p. 426—428. Knolles, p. 718—724.

[d] Knolles, p. 734, 735, and p. 743—745. Cantemir, p. 205, 206. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 454—460. La Croix, vol. i. p. 428—434.

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against those sovereigns. The French did not even derive benefits from the connexion, by any means commensurate to the scandal which it excited thro'out Europe: while on the other hand, the calamities inflicted by Barbarossa, Dragut, and the Turkish commanders, rather fell upon individuals, than affected materially the power of Charles himself. Nice, after a long siege, repulsed the combined forces; and the services performed by Solyman's troops, became infinitely overbalanced by the odium, which their junction with the naval forces of France produced.

1540—1544. Reflexions on it.

1545—1565. Reverses experienced by Solyman.

Notwithstanding the splendor of the Ottoman empire under Solyman's able administration, and the terror inspired by his arms, he was not exempt from the reverses and misfortunes attached to human affairs. In his first expedition against Persia, he was compelled to evacuate Bagdad with precipitation, pursued and harassed by the enemy; nor even in his second more prosperous invasion of that country, does he appear to have derived any solid acquisition of power or of glory[e]. All his efforts in person, at the head of a vast army, supported by the fleet under Barbarossa, to take the city of Corfu from the Venetians, proved ineffectual, for the capture of that last bulwark of the Adriatic[f]. But, more than any of these events, the repulse of his choicest troops, and of the flower of the Janizaries, before Malta;

Siege of Malta.

[e] Cantemir, p. 209—211.

[f] Laugier, vol. ix. p. 486—494. La Croix, vol. i. p. 412.

while

while it raised the fame of the knights, who could so long defend an inconsiderable island against his utmost exertions, covered him with confusion. The whole force of the Turkish empire, by land and sea, was drawn out against a barren rock of the smallest size; the only defence of which consisted in the invincible valor of its garrison, commanded by La Valette, the Grand Master of the order. We have seen in our own times, as late as 1782, the combined military and naval power of the two branches of the house of Bourbon, France and Spain, assembled in like manner before another rock; that insulated mountain upon which stands Gibraltar. We have beheld Eliott emulate, perhaps even surpass, the fame of La Valette; while Charles the Third and Louis the Sixteenth, suffered all the humiliation of Solyman and Mustapha. It is thus that history offers a perpetual renewal of the same images, and the same events, in different ages of the earth. The knights of Malta were long abandoned by Philip the Second, King of Spain, and the other Christian states; but, their courage surmounted the rudest assaults. The Spanish fleet did not in fact appear off the harbour, till Mustapha, the Bashaw who conducted the operations of the siege; wearied with repeated and fruitless efforts, had determined to withdraw his dispirited and diminished forces from the place. Such was the humiliation attached to the defeat, that he did not venture to meet the popular resentment on his return, by entering the port

Its defence.

Repulse of the Turks.

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of Constantinople during the day: his vessels took advantage of the obscurity of the night, to conceal their shame and disappointment.[s]

1566. Death of Solyman,

A repulse, distinguished by circumstances of such ignominy and loss, which affected Solyman in the most sensible manner, may be said to have accelerated the termination of his reign. Like Charles the Fifth, fortune seemed to forsake him as he drew towards the close of his splendid and eventful career. Corfu and Malta were to the Ottoman Sultan, the *Innspruck* and the *Metz* of the German Emperor. In one respect, however, they appear dissimilar. Charles, having survived the vigor of his mind, became unequal to the cares or the weight of government. Solyman on the contrary, preserved all the energies of his character to a much later period of life, than that at which Charles's abdication took place. Animated with the desire of vengeance for the disgrace sustained before Malta, he shook off the infirmities of age; and at a period when repose is equally desirable, as it is necessary, putting himself at the head of his troops, he entered Hungary so often desolated, and sat down before the town of Sigeth. We have witnessed in 1778, the same energy exhibited at the same age, by Frederic the Great, when he opposed the seizure of a part of Bavaria by Joseph the Second. Under the walls of Sigeth, rendered memorable in history by this event, Solyman expired; and victory, which with

before Sigeth.

[s] La Croix, vol. i. p. 518—534. Knolles, p. 793—818. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 499—502.

some exceptions had so eminently attended him living, accompanied him beyond the grave. His death being concealed by the Vizier, till the arrival of Selim his successor in the camp; Sigeth after resisting till the last extremity, was stormed and taken by the Janizaries[h]. There exists a singular conformity between the characters, the actions, and the deaths of Edward the First of England, and of Solyman the Magnificent. Both were princes of eminent endowments of mind, martial, inured to war, and familiar with victory. Edward was the scourge of Scotland, as Solyman was of Hungary. The former subjected Wales; the latter reduced Greece to his obedience. Both alike breathed their last, at the advanced period of seventy years, in the camp; Edward, on the borders of Scotland, which unfortunate country he was preparing to ravage for the fourth time, when death arrested him; precisely as the Sultan meditated to have done by the Hungarians. With the life of each prince, victory seemed to desert their respective people. *Bannockbourn* under *Edward* the Second, answers to *Lepanto* under *Selim* the Second.

1566.

Comparison of Solyman, and Edward the First.

It is not sufficient to say of Solyman, that he was, on a comprehensive view of his character, the greatest Sultan who has reigned over the Turks. He was unquestionably one of the most illustrious princes of the sixteenth century; possessing many qualities, equally calculated to promote the felicity, as to augment

Character, and great exploits of Solyman.

[h] Sacy, vol. ii. p. 39—51. La Croix, vol. i. p. 534—538. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 502—507. Cantemir, p. 215, 216. Knolles, p. 819—823.

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the glory of his people. His regard to justice, which was inflexible, knew no distinction between Christians and Mahometans. Naturally clement, his acts of cruelty are more to be imputed to the genius of his age and nation, than to the ferocity of his nature. Abstinent in his diet, simple in his manners, and an enemy to every species of excess; he neither indulged in the use of wine, nor was ever at any period of his life, suspected of a propensity to the unnatural pleasures, common among the Asiatics[1]. His rigid discipline, sustained by military talents, inspired the Janizaries with respect and veneration: that fierce soldiery never dared, even under any circumstances, to proceed to acts of violence; and his death was bewailed by them, as the most irreparable loss to the Ottoman empire. Formed for war, he yet loved and cherished the arts of peace: capable of love, he was too easily enslaved by the objects of his affection. The celebrated Roxalana, with whom he divided his throne, and whose history or supposed adventures have furnished ample subject for fiction, abused her ascendancy over him. Her jealousy, or her desire to open a way to the diadem for her own children, produced convulsions in the empire, and polluted the Seraglio with blood.

Crimes of Roxalana.

Domestic calamities.

Mustapha, the eldest son of Solyman by one of his concubines, whose qualities rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to her resentment or apprehension; and who is depictured as highly

[1] Busbeq. Epist. p. 105, 106.

accom-

accomplished, brave, and virtuous; was strangled in the imperial tent, by the immediate order, and under the eyes of the Sultan [k]. Bajazet, his brother by Roxalana, terrified at the fate of Mustapha, and apprehensive of a similar destiny after the decease of Solyman, took up arms. The tears and entreaties of Roxalana induced his father to pardon him; but, when her death had deprived him of so powerful an intercessor, he was compelled to fly into Persia, where he did not long receive protection or support. The Sophy, alarmed at the menaces, and softened by the presents of the Turkish Emperor, permitted the unfortunate Bajazet to be strangled in prison. We cannot doubt that if either of these princes had succeeded to the vacant throne, he would probably have directed his arms, not against a detached island of the Venetian dominions, of small comparative importance, such as was Cyprus; but, against Austria and Germany. In consequence of their successive deaths, Selim, the only surviving son of Solyman by Roxalana, became the undisputed heir to the Ottoman dominions [l]. In Busbequius, the most affecting particulars are to be found, of Mustapha's and of Bajazet's respective end. We are, however, so little acquainted with the interior of the Turkish Seraglio; and the information ac-

1556.

Deaths of Mustapha and Bajazet.

[k] Knolles, p. 767—782. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 492, 493. La Croix, vol. i. p. 466—480. Busbeq. Epist. p. 52—64.

[l] Busbeq. Epistolæ, p. 125—139, and p. 224—242, and p. 261—265, and p. 267—275, and p. 346—351.

quired

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quired or transmitted us, of its intrigues, its crimes, and its transactions, is so doubtful; that even on such high authority, we ought to peruse them with some distrust.

Power of the Sultan.

In power and reputation, Solyman held the first place among the European sovereigns, thro'out the course of his long reign. We can conceive nothing more dignified and majestic, than the picture of the Sultan, receiving the embassadors of the Emperor Ferdinand the First, in 1554, at Amasia. It is drawn by Busbequius himself, who performed the principal part on that humiliating occasion. In perusing his description, we are reminded of Cyrus and of Arsaces, of Tamerlane and Zingis; the conquerors of Asia at different periods of time, whose arms and presence diffused terror over so large a portion of the globe. To attempt a translation of the passage, would divest it of all its beauty and originality. — "Sed, ille "nec orationem, nec rationes nostras, nec man- "data, animo, aut fronte satis benigna, sus- "cepit. Sedebat ipse in solio perquam humili, "ab humo haud altiore uno pede. Erat illud "instratum pretiosissima, plurimaque veste "stragula, pulvinisque exquisito opere elabo- "ratis. Juxta erant arcus, et sagittæ. Frons, "ut dixi, minime læta, tristisque in vultu; sed, "tamen, plena majestatis severitas[m]." If we compare this portrait of Solyman, with the picture left us of the Roman Emperor Carus, towards the end of the third century of the

Comparison of Solyman, with Carus,

[m] Busbeq. Epist. p. 98.

Chris-

Christian era, giving audience in his camp, to the embassadors of Varanes, King of Persia, we shall not hesitate to admit the vast superiority of the Ottoman Sultan[n]. In Carus, we trace only the hardy simplicity of a veteran general, inured to fatigue, and accustomed to privations. But, Solyman, who blended the monarch with the soldier, united the majesty of the throne, with the rough austerity of the camp. Habituated to triumphs during more than forty years, his mind never became indecently elated by success, nor the serenity of his features affected by any external circumstances. With the same apparent calmness and composure, he marched to quell the insurrection of his son Bajazet; and beheld the captive fleet of Philip the Second, conducted into the harbour of Constantinople in 1562, after the ignominious defeat of the Spaniards at Gerbes, on the coast of Africa.[o]

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The glory of Charles the Fifth sinks on a comparison with that of the Mahometan prince: his triumphs over Francis the First at Pavia, or over the members of the confederacy of Smalcald at Muhlberg, only augmented the humiliation of his defeats, when opposed to Solyman, or to Barbarossa. Reduced to supplicate the ministers of the Porte, for a truce, he obtained it, at the expence of his pride and his interests. Ferdinand, King of Hungary, his brother, did not hesitate to descend

and with Charles the Fifth.

[n] Gibbon's Roman Emp. oct. edit. vol. ii. p. 94, 95.

[o] Busbeq. Epist. p. 247, and p. 284.

to

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to still greater mortifications; voluntarily purchasing a precarious, or ignominious peace, by the payment of an annual tribute of thirty thousand Ducats [p]. We may justly regard the close of Solyman's life, as the period at which the Ottoman power and greatness had attained its summit. Though after his decease, the empire received some accessions of territory, as that of Rome did in a similar manner, subsequent to the reign of Augustus; yet, the foundations of its prosperity and stability became weakened. This change was not, however, instantly apparent; and Europe long continued to regard with anxious terror, every equipment or preparation for war made at Constantinople.

1566. Grandeur of the Ottoman empire, at his decease.

1566—1569. Accession, and character of Selim the Second.

Selim the Second, on whom devolved the vacant sceptre, was ill calculated to sustain its majesty, or to augment the glory of the Turkish name and arms. Pusillanimous, indolent, and dissolute, he neither put himself at the head of his forces, nor attended to the administration of public affairs. Equally unfit for the fatigues of a camp, or the occupations of the cabinet, he passed his time in the excesses of the table, where he abandoned himself to the gratification of his passion for wine [q]. The victories, as well as the defeats, which have rendered his reign memorable, were performed by others; and though he appeared not insensible to the extension of his dominions, or to the success of his

[p] La Croix, vol. i. p. 446. Busbeq. Epist. p. 455, 456.

[q] Busbeq. Epist. p. 236, and p. 275.

troops,

troops, he committed the toils of state to delegates. Under a prince of such a character, we might naturally be led to imagine that Europe, so long desolated or invaded by Solyman, would have tasted repose; and that Selim, content to maintain his father's acquisitions, would not have attempted to effect new conquests. But, as it is beautifully remarked by the elegant historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman "Empire," that "the conquest of Britain, "scarcely commenced by Julius, was renewed "under the most stupid, prosecuted under the "most flagitious, and completed under the "most timid of the Cæsars;" so did it happen among the Turks. However unwilling, himself, to quit the enjoyments of the Seraglio, Selim's ambition was easily inflamed; and the apparent facility of adding Cyprus to his numerous provinces, seems to have formed the principal, or only reason, which induced him to commence hostilities on the Venetians, to whom that beautiful island belonged. The Republic, declining in her strength and commerce; conscious from experience, how slender was the assistance which she had derived from Charles the Fifth, when engaged in former contests with the Turks, and averse to war; had little reason to expect that Philip the Second would act with greater liberality or sincerity. The Emperor Maximilian the Second, destitute of resources to support a contest against Selim, refused to take any part in the quarrel; and

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He projects the invasion of Cyprus.

State of the Republic of Venice.

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and no other European power could extend effectual aid.

Convinced of the validity and force of these obvious reflexions, the Senate, anxious to avert the rupture, made every offer calculated to appease, or to conciliate the Sultan; but, as the cession of the island itself could alone mollify the Divan, and produce an accommodation, the Venetians prepared for a vigorous defence[r].

Attack of Cyprus.

Nicosia, one of the principal cities of Cyprus, was taken by the Turkish forces, after a siege of short duration: but Famagosta, the capital, sustained a long and obstinate attack, in defiance of every effort on the part of the Mahometans. The combined fleets of Philip, Venice, and the Holy See, having meanwhile assembled on the coast of Caramania; only unanimity or inclination were wanting, to have enabled them to obtain a decisive advantage over the enemy, dispersed thro'out Cyprus, and occupied in reducing the capital. It may however be asserted, that the King of Spain did not sincerely desire the elevation, or even the extrication of the Republic; and the Spanish commander, on pretexts the most futile, refused to hazard a general engagement[s]. Encouraged by such evident proofs of dissension or incapacity among the allies, the Vizier resumed the enterprize on Famagosta, with encreased alacrity; and notwithstanding the intrepidity

Capture of Famagosta, by the Vizier.

[r] Laugier, vol. x. p. 151—176.

[s] Ibid. p. 177—186, and p. 194—197, and p. 198—204. La Croix, vol. i. p. 566—568. Knolles, p. 845—863.

mani-

manifested by the Venetian commander, Bragadino, the place capitulated. The articles, violated by the Janizaries, were eluded by Mustapha, their general; who sullied his acquisition, by the most perfidious, as well as inhuman treatment of the garrison and inhabitants. They were massacred, or reduced to slavery; while Bragadino himself expired by a punishment equally cruel and ignominious. [t] CHAP. XIX. 1571.

Under these circumstances, little more than two months after the reduction of Cyprus, took place the celebrated battle of Lepanto, fought near the same shores where Octavius had vanquished Mark Antony at Actium. Don John of Austria, impelled by his own passion for glory, and at the hazard of his brother Philip's indignation, engaged the whole naval force of Selim, commanded by his ablest officers. He obtained a signal victory; only about thirty gallies under Ulucciali, having escaped the general destruction. If the advantage had been improved with celerity, the Turkish empire might probably have been shaken to its basis, or even possibly subverted. The Sultan possessed neither fortitude, courage, nor resources of mind. In Constantinople the alarm exceeded description; Selim, who was absent at Adrianople when the intelligence arrived, hurrying to the capital, overcome with terror and despondency. The passage of the Dardanelles, unfortified, Battle of Lepanto. Consternation of the Turks.

[t] La Croix, vol. i. p. 562—566. Cantemir, p. 222. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 56—67. Knolles, p. 863—868. Laugier, vol. x. p. 236—244.

or

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1571. or in a state of neglect, the result of security, might have been forced without difficulty; and no obstacle except the advanced season of the year, presented itself to impede the progress of the victorious confederates. But, internal jealousies and jarring interests, formed insurmountable impediments to their joint operations. Instead of improving the victory, they were occupied in dividing the spoil. Far from approaching Constantinople, they seem only to have conquered, in order to retreat; and the Venetians alone remained at sea during some time longer [u]. It can scarcely be believed that a detachment of fifty vessels, sent by Don John immediately after the action, to reduce the little island of Santa Maura, the Leucadia of the Greeks, was repulsed, and compelled to retire. Not the smallest advantage seems to have been derived from one of the most glorious naval victories to be found in modern annals. No attempt was even made under these favorable circumstances, to recover Cyprus, or any part of the Morea. [x]

Inaction of the allied powers.

1572. Measures of Ulucciali, to retrieve the Turkish affairs.

Ulucciali, who might have been cut off by Doria, the commander of the Genoese gallies in the service of Spain, revived the courage of the Sultan, by his appearance at Constantinople: being instantly declared Captain Bashaw, Selim committed to his ability the fate of the

[u] Laugier, vol. x. p. 244—252. La Croix, vol. i. p. 574—580. Cantemir, p. 223—225. Knolles, p. 873—886.

[x] La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Laugier, vol. x. p. 250, 251. Vanel, vol iii. p. 80.

Otto-

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Ottoman empire. We cannot help conceiving a high idea of the resources and energy then possessed by the Turks, when we find that in less than eight months after the battle of Lepanto, a fleet more numerous, and equally well equipped with the former, was fitted out, and sent against the Christians [y]. Ulucciali, who by his prudence, skill, and dexterity, proved himself deserving of the important deposit entrusted to him; successfully eluded the attempts repeatedly made by the Venetians, to force him to a second general engagement. It is however incontestable, that the Turkish gallies were constructed of materials deficient in the most essential requisites; that they were ill provided with cannon; and manned with inexperienced sailors, dejected by their recent defeat [z]. Blocked up within the port of Modon in the Morea, they must either have hazarded an action under manifest disadvantages, or must have surrendered at discretion to the combined fleets; if the Spanish admiral, by withdrawing his division, had not opened a passage for their escape [a]. It is probable that in this act, he only obeyed the positive orders of the court of Madrid. The Venetian commander vainly implored of him the delay of a few days; and the Senate, justly indignant at such treatment from their ally, hastened to conclude a

Peace between Venice and Selim the Second.

[y] Laugier, vol. x. p. 263. La Croix, vol. i. p. 582.

[z] Vanel, vol. iii. p 84, 85.

[a] Ibid. p. 85—89. Cantemir, p. 225. La Croix, vol. i. p. 584, Knolles, p. 887—901. Laugier, vol. x. p. 263—271.

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separate accommodation with the Porte; which government, far from relaxing its demands, in consequence of the late defeat, rather exacted greater concessions from the Republic. [b]

1572.

1573. Capture of Tunis, by Don John of Austria.

Philip the Second continued nevertheless the contest, and Don John of Austria transferred the theatre of the war to Africa. Landing near Tunis, he made himself master of that city, as well as of Biserta; defeated the Moors, and placed upon the throne a prince dependant on Spain. In order to ensure his conquest, he caused a new fortress to be constructed; left a considerable body of Spanish and Italian troops in garrison; and then returned to Sicily, to enjoy the acclamations which attended his arrival. But this transitory triumph was succeeded by the most humiliating reverse. Ulucciali, and the Bashaw Sinan appearing on the coast of Barbary with incredible celerity, not only recovered Tunis, and the fort recently built by the Spaniards; but, carried the Goletta itself by storm, putting the forces found in it, to the sword. This citadel, taken by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, near forty years before, from Barbarossa; preserved at an immense expence, by the most watchful vigilance; as dear to the pride of the Spanish sovereign and nation in that age, as Gibraltar is to the British, in the present century; was immediately demolished by the Turks, who returned

1574. Retaken by the Turks.

[b] Laugier, vol. x. p. 278—282. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 89—92. Knolles, p. 904, 905.

victo-

victorious to Constantinople [c]. Almost at the same period, Walachia, which having revolted, under the conduct of its Waivode or prince, had obtained numerous advantages over the Ottoman armies, was anew subjected; and the province experienced the severest treatment from their incensed and implacable masters [d]. In every quarter the Turks having acquired a decided superiority, increased the respect or terror of the European powers, for their arms. Under this blaze of glory, to which he had not in any measure contributed, Selim terminated his reign; carried off by a distemper, produced from his excesses, in the vigor of his age. Few princes have experienced greater political vicissitudes, in the course of only eight years; and none was ever more passive, amidst the great events which distinguish the time when he lived. Amurath the Third, his son, succeeded to the empire. [e]

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Death of Selim.

The Turkish government, during the period which we have reviewed, as well as at every other, can only be regarded as a pure despotism. In a country destitute of hereditary nobility, or of any intermediate order between the sovereign and the people; whose inhabitants knew no respect for birth, distinct from employment;

Despotism of the Ottoman Sultans.

[c] La Croix, vol. i. p. 588—590, and p. 592—594. Knolles, p. 901, 902, and p. 914, 915. Cantemir, p. 226, 227. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 92—98.

[d] Knolles, p. 905—914. La Croix, vol. i. p. 590, and p. 594—596.

[e] Ibid. p. 915. Cantemir, p. 227, 228. La Croix, vol. i. p. 596—598. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 98.

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where slaves, educated in the apartments of the Seraglio, were selected to fill the highest offices; and which was unacquainted with the existence of any legislative, or deliberative assembly; the will of the Sultan constituted the supreme law. But, indefinite as such an authority may appear, it had nevertheless limits, not to be transgressed with impunity. The precepts of the Koran; the usages and customs sanctioned by prescription; the very prejudices of the Turks, could not be violated by the most able or tyrannical prince, without the hazard of deposition and death, as the immediate consequence. Like arbitrary power in every age, it was held by the most frail and precarious tenure; a military force. The Janizaries, who had signified to Bajazet the Second, their commands that he should descend from the throne, on account of his inaptitude for war, and his bodily infirmities, conferred the supreme authority on Selim the First. That able Sultan endeavoured systematically, to extinguish so powerful and dangerous a body of troops; but his reign did not prove of sufficient length, to carry into execution the design which he meditated[f]. Under Solyman, they arrogated their antient right of naming, removing, or confirming the head of the empire. Notwithstanding the great endowments which he possessed, the perpetual hostilities in which he was engaged, and the rigid discipline that he enforced; Solyman was repeatedly on the

Limits affixed to it.

The Janizaries.

Their mutinous disposition.

[f] La Croix, vol. i. p. 358. Busbeq. Epist. p. 55—60.

point

point of experiencing the fatal effects of their indignation. In 1553, after the execution of his eldest son Mustapha, strangled by his orders, in the camp near Amasia, on the Persian expedition; the troops mutinied, with loud cries demanding vengeance on the authors of his death. The personal appearance and exertions of the Sultan, aided by the distribution of money, with difficulty allayed, and averted the storm from himself[g]. Like the body of Strelitzes in Muscovy, they as frequently deposed, as they elevated their princes to the supreme authority. CHAP. XIX. 1574. Donatives.

At the commencement of every reign, like the Prætorian guards in antient Rome, they expected, or exacted a donative; and during the first days of the new government, it was customary to accord the demands or requests which they thought proper to make, of every nature. On the accession of Solyman in 1520, they insisted that the Sultan should issue a decree, prohibiting all Christians in future to appear on horseback, in the streets of Constantinople[h]. It was not without difficulty, at these periods when the supreme power was in some measure suspended, during its transmission from one prince to another, that the Janizaries were restrained from plundering the capital; particularly the houses or shops of the Christian and

[g] La Croix, vol. i. p. 470—472. Knolles, p. 764. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 5, 6. Busbeq. Epist. p. 58, 59.

[h] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 288.

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Jewish merchants[i]. Solyman, tho' he had no rival or competitor for the empire, as being the only son of Selim the First; yet did not venture to withhold the customary distribution of money, on his father's death[k]. The most alarming insurrection took place among the troops, when Selim the Second, in 1566, presumed to commence the functions of government, before he had satisfied their rapacious exactions. Not content with a prodigious largess, which he had divided among them, they assembled tumultuously; demanding the confirmation of all their privileges, together with a larger donative, before they would permit the new Sultan to enter the Seraglio. Their insolence became so great, that Mahomet and Pertau, the two principal Viziers, or Bashaws, attempting to mollify their resentment, nearly fell a sacrifice to their fury; suffering severely from the blows of the matchlocks or Harquebusses, with which the Turkish soldiery were armed. Selim, terrified and unable to resist, instantly made an ample distribution; after which they dispersed[l]. Amurath the Third in 1574, extended and augmented all their immunities.[m]

Insurrections, and immunities of the Janizaries.

Such was the apprehension entertained of their excesses during the vacancy of the throne, that the decease of Solyman, and of Selim, were alike studiously concealed by the Viziers,

Concealment of the decease of the Ottoman emperors,

[i] Knolles, p. 567. [k] Ibid. p. 568.

[l] La Croix, vol. i. p. 540. Knolles, p. 827, 828. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 15.

[m] Knolles, p. 919.

till

till their respective successors could arrive, and take possession of the capital. In the former instance, as the army was engaged before Sigeth, at a great distance from the seat of government, and the place being reduced to extremity; it became on every account indispensable to keep the soldiers in ignorance of so important an event. In order to effect it, the grand Vizier did not hesitate to adopt the barbarous expedient of strangling the physician, who had attended Solyman in his dying moments[n]. The Janizaries having notwithstanding, entertained some suspicions that the Sultan was no more, the body was placed in a horse-litter, his customary mode of conveyance; the curtains of which being undrawn from time to time, the troops were permitted to see him at a distance; and as he appeared in a sitting attitude, habited as usual, the deception operated completely on them. It seems scarcely credible, that his decease should have been thus concealed for more than six weeks, from the knowledge of the Janizaries. The fact only became divulged on Selim's arrival in the camp, forty-six days after his father had expired[o]. The great Bashaws contrived to keep all Constantinople in a similar ignorance of Selim the Second's death, during twelve days, till his son Amurath, then absent in Asia, could reach the Seraglio[p]. No circumstance can more forcibly demonstrate the awful nature of the

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1574. Solyman, and Selim.

[n] Knolles, p. 823. La Croix, vol. i. p. 537. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 47.
[o] Ibid. p. 823, and p. 825. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 47, and p. 52.
[p] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 101.

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interval which took place between the decease of one Sultan, and the accession of his successor.

Superiority of the Turkish troops, in the sixteenth century.

Towards the close of Solyman's reign, the Ottoman troops, who were justly regarded as superior in disciplined valor, to those of any Christian power; inspired a degree of terror, respecting which we can scarcely form an exaggerated conception. From the banks of the Tygris and the Euphrates, to the western extremity of Europe, every nation had experienced in its turn, their intrepid courage, and their destructive ravages. If, after the decease of Mahomet the Second, or of Solyman, the Turkish sceptre had devolved to a prince of activity, capable of maintaining in its utmost severity, the established discipline, and able to have led them in person against Germany or Italy; it is difficult to say what adequate barriers could have been opposed to the Mahometan arms and religion. The extended frontier of Hungary, feebly defended by a tumultuous and refractory army, could not long have delayed the inroads of such invaders; the Austrian princes vainly attempting to rouse the German circles from their habitual apathy, and characteristic inaction. Venice, unable to defend Cyprus, alarmed for Candia and Corfu, ill sustained by Philip the Second, and sinking in her internal resources; might have beheld a Turkish squadron riding triumphant in the Adriatic, or might perhaps have been necessitated to abandon the seat and capital of the Republic. The weakness and de-

bility of the European states which bordered on the provinces of Turkey, in particular of Hungary, the Austrian dominions, and Poland; stood wonderfully contrasted with the vigor, energy, and resources displayed by the Sultans. We may see in the letters of Busbequius, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Solyman, the precise state, condition, and number of the Ottoman soldiery, between 1554 and 1562; at the close of Charles the Fifth's reign, and under that of Ferdinand the First. He had repeatedly, during the course of his humiliating and painful mission, been a spectator of their military skill; and he describes in glowing language, the formidable aspect which they presented, when encamped on the frontiers of Persia, as well as when drawn up, under the eye of their master, in the vicinity of Constantinople. [q]

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Weakness of the European frontier.

The Janizaries, strictly so denominated, do not appear to have exceeded twelve thousand; a part of whom were always retained near the person of the sovereign; the others being stationed on the frontiers, or dispersed through the vast extent of the Turkish dominions [r]. We, who are accustomed to the prodigious numbers of modern armies, may account these small; but even at a late period of the sixteenth century, no European prince, except Philip the Second, possessed the pecuniary means of paying great bodies of regular forces, and keeping them under the standard, in time of peace.

The Janizaries.

Their numbers.

[q] Busbeq. Epist. p. 102, and p. 266, 267.
[r] Ibid. p. 23, and p. 24.

While

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While employed on active service in the field, the Janizaries exhibited the most exemplary pattern of temperance, sobriety, and submission. A profound tranquillity reigned in their camps, where gaming, intoxication, and quarrels were unknown[s]. Water constituted the only refreshment of the Ottoman soldier, who was not more restrained from the use of wine, by the prohibitions of the Prophet, or by the orders of his general, than by habitual and constitutional abstinence. Their food, like that of Asiatics in general, was equally simple; seeming more adapted to ascetics or hermits, than to nourish the hardy courage of veteran troops, accustomed to carnage, and familiarized to conquest. Vegetables constituted their principal nourishment; and so slender a proportion of animal food was consumed among them, that Busbequius declares, four or five sheep to have been amply sufficient for the daily consumption of near four thousand Janizaries[t]. The cleanliness of their camps, formed a striking contrast to the filth of the Christian armies in the sixteenth century, among whom scarcely any precautions were taken, to prevent diseases and infection[u]. Gustavus Adolphus, near sixty years later, when he landed in Pomerania, exhibited the first example of sobriety, temperance, and cleanliness observed among modern European troops. Even in the camps of Tilly and of

Sobriety, and abstinence.

[s] Busbeq. Epist. p. 250.
[t] Ibid. p. 251, 252.
[u] Ibid. p. 250.

Walstein,

Walstein, who commanded the forces of the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, opposed to the Swedish prince, every immorality and act of violence or profligacy was tolerated. Strict attention, and unremitting care were exerted by the Turkish officers, to preserve the health of the troops; in a peculiar manner to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, to which, as being mostly natives of a warm or sultry climate, they were greatly sensible. Their clothing was adapted for enabling them to support the severity of Hungarian campaigns, in which the cold became frequently intense. Every tent held from twenty-five, to thirty Janizaries. The state supplied the materials of their dress, which was composed of cloth, and distributed with the most rigorous impartiality. In like manner, and with a view to prevent complaint or imposition, the money in which they received their pay, was not counted, but dealt out by weight, to each individual.[x]

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Regulations.

The bow and arrow constituted the favorite weapon of the Turkish soldier. From the age of seven or eight years, the youth being taught its exercise, they attained to a dexterity, celerity, and precision in the use of it, which could scarcely have been exceeded by the Parthians, so renowned in antiquity[y]. Nor were they less skilful with the spear. The cavalry, denominated Spahis, offered a superb spectacle to the eye, mounted on beautiful Cappadocian

Arms.

[x] Busbeq. Epist. p. 175, 176. [y] Ibid. p. 210, 211.

or

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or Syrian horses, whose trappings were covered with gold, and inlaid with gems. The men wore defensive armor, and dresses of the most costly or splendid kind[z]. Fire-arms were little used by the Turks, before the end of Soliman's reign. Rustan, one of the Bashaws of that prince, attempted about the year 1550, to introduce matchlocks or Harquebusses, among the cavalry, during the Persian war: but the experiment did not succeed[a]. The infantry however submitted to adopt them, though not without difficulty and reluctance.

Punishments.

Among the punishments common in the Ottoman armies, the most frequent was the scourge, from which the Janizaries themselves were not exempted. Death was inflicted on the common soldiers, for crimes of magnitude; but, by a distinction calculated to operate in the most powerful manner on the human mind, the Janizary could not in any case be deprived of life, or capitally punished. They were supposed to act from higher principles, than the fear of death, or the love of life. A sense of shame and of honor elevating them above both, directed all their sensibility towards the preservation of their military reputation, rank, and station. In cases of such magnitude or atrocity, as to merit exemplary chastisement; after having been publickly degraded, they were deprived of their arms and military Insignia; and afterwards banished to the distant garrisons, on the

[z] Busbeq. Epist. p. 20, and p. 245—247.
[a] Ibid. p. 199, 200.

fron-

frontier of Persia, Nubia, or Poland, there to drag out a miserable, forgotten existence, amid contumely and oblivion. Such a punishment, to the Janizary of the sixteenth century, must have been far more severe than death.[b] 1574.

Mode of recruiting the Janizaries.

This formidable body of infantry was principally composed of, and recruited from, the Christian youth, scattered through the various provinces of the Turkish empire; annually brought in vast numbers, to Constantinople, from Hungary, Dalmatia, and Greece[c]. After being exposed to sale, they were educated with the utmost care; inured betimes to labor, fatigue, and the severest renunciations; instructed by masters, in all the exercises of the body, and in the practice of arms; till they were judged deserving of incorporation in the ranks of the Janizaries, or Spahis. Some chosen youths, distinguished by their personal beauty, or by the vivacity and pregnancy of their parts, were usually reserved for the Sultan, the Viziers, and Bashaws. They often rose in the Turkish court, to the highest honors, offices, and preferments, civil, as well as military. Hungarians, Greeks, Sclavonians, even Germans, occupied places of trust and responsibility, commanded expeditions by land and by sea, desolated the countries from whence they derived their origin, or disposed with unlimited power, of the Sultan's authority and treasures[d]. Charles the

[b] Busbeq. Epist. p. 256, 257. [c] Ibid. p. 108, 109.
[d] Busbeq. Epist. p. 256, 257. Exclamatio de Remilitari, p. 432—439.

Fifth,

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Fifth, and Ferdinand the First, found no opponents more formidable than the Christians, thus naturalized, and received into the Turkish armies or councils.

Discipline of the soldiery.

The terror inspired by the Ottoman arms in the sixteenth century, was principally due to the rigid military discipline, and exact temperance, enforced by Solyman; who gave in his own person, an example of the virtues which he enjoined to his soldiers. But, his death constituted the term of their observance; and under Selim universal relaxation took place. The Sultan, when no longer present in the field, withdrew the greatest incitement to emulation and valor. Solyman would not have succeeded before Rhodes, if he had not repaired thither in person, and animated the operations[e]. To his incapacity of conducting the attack upon Malta, occasioned by his age and infirmities, may probably in some measure be attributed the ill success of the enterprize. So devoted were the Janizaries to him, and so confident of victory under his auspices, that they continued to believe themselves invincible, while he led them against the enemy. The abstinence of Solyman from wine, in obedience to the Mahometan injunction, enabled him to compel the troops to practise the same renunciation. Such was his severity upon this point, that in 1546, finding the inhabitants of Constantinople not only guilty of frequent intoxication, but uni-

Temperance.

Severity of Solyman.

[e] La Croix, vol. i. p. 370, and p. 540.

versally

versally occupied in the culture of the grape, he issued the most rigorous edicts against the former practice; and in order to eradicate the latter, he caused all the vines in the vicinity of the capital, to be pulled up and destroyed [f]. Conscious nevertheless, that the use of the grape was not only in itself harmless, but beneficial, he at a subsequent period of his life and reign, encouraged, and even enjoined the cultivation of the vine [g]. Selim, who exhibited a very opposite example from that of his father Solyman, was accustomed to pass whole days in a balcony of the Seraglio, which commanded a view of the sea, engaged in excesses of wine; at every glass that he swallowed, cannon being discharged [h]. The troops soon caught, and imitated so pernicious an infection; but their reputation long survived their discipline: nor was it till towards the conclusion of the seventeenth century, that the Germans and Hungarians began to assert a decided superiority over the Ottoman armies.

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Relaxation under Selim.

Under the reigns of Solyman and Selim, the blood of the Turkish troops was prodigally shed on every occasion. No account seems to have been made of the diminution of the human species; the ranks being speedily filled up by new recruits from Europe and Asia. The unsuccessful expedition against Malta, cost the lives of twenty-four thousand of their choicest

Loss of men in war.

[f] La Croix, vol. i. p. 442. [g] Busbeq. Epist. p. 295, 296.
[h] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 98. Cantemir, p. 228. La Croix, vol. i. p. 598.

soldiers.

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soldiers[i]. Even the conquest of Cyprus, which was only the triumph of brutal strength, and superior numbers, was not obtained without the sacrifice of near sixty thousand men[k]. At Lepanto, it was calculated that thirty thousand Turks were killed, or made prisoners: an equal number fell in 1574, before Tunis and the Goletta. Only the Ottoman empire could have sustained or replaced, such vast and repeated losses[l]. The accusation laid to the charge of the Janizaries, that they violated all capitulations, and put to the sword the enemy who had surrendered on terms, is undoubtedly too well founded in many instances. The cruelties exercised at Famagosta in 1571, which may be more justly imputed to Mustapha, the Turkish commander, than to the private soldiers; admit neither of excuse, nor of extenuation[m]. But, that the Janizaries were capable of granting quarter, and even of extending protection to their enemies during the heat of action, is evident by their behaviour in 1566, at the storm of Sigeth. Charmed with the valor of the Hungarian garrison, they snatched many individuals from immediate death; and rescued them from the scymetars of their comrades, by placing their caps or bonnets on the heads of such, as they desired to exempt from the indiscriminate carnage.[n]

Behaviour of the Janizaries.

[i] Knolles, p. 817.
[k] La Croix, vol. i. p. 574.
[l] La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 75, and p. 97. Knolles, p. 883.
[m] La Croix, vol. i. p. 574.
[n] Knolles, p. 823.

Soly-

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Solyman, in all his campaigns, brought into the field a numerous artillery; but the Turks were unskilled in the art of attacking fortifications. They rarely captured any city, except by an incredible expenditure of human blood, and they were frequently repulsed before insignificant fortresses. In 1531, the army, commanded by the Sultan in person, having entered Hungary, sat down before the castle of Ghinz, not distant from the memorable plain of Mohatz, where only five years before he had vanquished Louis the Second. After remaining twenty-three days before the place, which was in no respect provided for defence, the walls of which were even old and ruinous; he was compelled to decamp with the loss of his bravest soldiers, and to retreat immediately into his own dominions[o]. Vienna, Corfu, Malta, as well as many other unsuccessful sieges undertaken by the same prince, prove the ignorance of his officers and troops in the attack of cities. Belgrade, the bulwark not only of Hungary, but of Europe on that quarter, was lost by the want of all precautions for its security. Rhodes, like Malta, might have baffled the utmost efforts of the Turks, if the Christian powers had only been attentive to its preservation.

Ignorance of the Turks, in the art of attacking cities.

In order to terrify or to insult the enemy, it was common among the Turkish commanders, to send the head of a general slain in battle, to his surviving friends. When the intrepid Count

Treatment of enemies.

[o] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 369, 370.

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1574. Count Serini.

Serini was killed in 1566, at the assault of Sigeth; Mahomet, the grand Vizier, after causing the head to be placed on a pole, for the gratification of his troops; ordered it to be wrapped in a red scarf, covered with white linen, and in this state to be transmitted to Count Salm, the Imperial general, then encamped on the banks of the Danube, near Räab in Hungary. He accompanied it with the following laconic note: —"In token of my love, I send thee the head "of a most resolute and valiant captain, thy "friend: the remainder of his body I have "honourably interred, as became such a man." We must allow that there is even in so barbarous a proceeding, a mixture of liberality: the antipathy of the Mahometan first minister, had not extinguished his veneration for Serini's valor and merit[p]. The Turks might even produce classic authority for such acts, however repugnant they may be to our softer manners.

Reflexions on it.

We find the Roman general, after the victory of the Metaurus, causing the head of Asdrubal to be thrown into his brother Hannibal's camp; a far more ferocious abuse of success, than that of the Vizier. The head of Pompey was presented to Cæsar, as was that of Cicero to Antony in the Forum.

Nor have similar examples been wanting in modern ages, and among civilized nations. It is believed that the head of Coligni, after the massacre of Paris in 1572, was sent to

[p] Knolles, p. 823, 824. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 507. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 50.

Rome, as the most acceptable present to Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, by order of Catherine of Medicis. We shall see that the head of Horuc, brother of the celebrated Barbarossa, was borne in savage triumph, by the Spaniards, thro' one of their provinces, under the reign of Charles the Fifth. All these acts of antient, or of modern ferocity, sink nevertheless, and can enter into no competition with the horrors of the French annals, particularly at Paris, and at Lyons, in our own time, from 1792 to 1795. The Bashaw Mustapha, who commanded the expedition against Cyprus, was of a much more sanguinary and ferocious disposition than the Grand Vizier Mahomet. After having taken Nicosia, he proceeded to invest Famagosta; and with a view of intimidating the inhabitants, he had the inhumanity to put to death several of the principal persons found in the former city, whose heads, placed upon staves, were carried round the walls of Famagosta. That of Dandolo, the Venetian governor, was transmitted in a basket, by means of a Cyprian peasant, liberated expressly for the purpose, to Bragadino; as an earnest of the treatment which he might in his turn expect, if he ventured to resist the besiegers. But, far from producing the effect intended, he sent word to Mustapha, that "he was prepared for "the same destiny, and determined to hold out "the place to the last extremity."[q]

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Dandolo.

Formidable as were the military forces of the Turks, their navy at this period, seemed equally

Naval force.

[q] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 46. Knolles, p. 852.

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calculated to inspire apprehension. When Soly-man sent his fleet to besiege Malta, in 1565, it consisted of one hundred and forty-two gallies, seventeen Galliots, and about twenty-two victuallers of various sizes[r]. At Lepanto, six years afterwards, the Bashaw Ali had under his command, more than two hundred gallies, besides vessels of other denominations[s]. The chief reliance of the confederates was on their Galeasses, of which the fleet contained six. They were vast, unwieldy, floating castles, such as Philip the Second sent into the British channel against Elizabeth, seventeen years afterwards, in 1588; furnished with heavy artillery, and manned with soldiers. It was usual to station them in front of the gallies, about a mile a-head, at equal distances, as advanced forts or redoubts. They do not, however, appear to have eminently contributed towards the famous victory of Lepanto; a circumstance at which we ought not to be surprized, their construction rendering them slow, as well as difficult to manage.[t]

Numerous marine.

Notwithstanding the severe blow given on that occasion, to the Turkish marine, it immediately revived. Barbaro, the Venetian envoy, detained in confinement at Constantinople, wrote to the Senate, that he himself had reckoned two hundred and fifty gallies, which under

[r] Knolles, p. 795. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 499.
[s] Knolles, p. 889. La Croix, vol. i. p. 576.
[t] Laugier, vol. x. p. 245, 246. Knolles, p. 878.

Ulue-

Ulucciali's command, sailed out of the harbour; and he was to be joined by others at Gallipoli[u]. If we reflect that the battle of Lepanto took place in October, 1571; and that in the month of June following, a naval force more considerable than the first, was already equipped and sent against the enemy; we may perhaps doubt whether any European state in the present century, could make equal, or greater exertions, by sea. Carthage alone, in antiquity, possessed naval resources of such extent. The admiral galley, commanded by Ali, who was killed at Lepanto, exceeded any other of the Turkish fleet in magnificence, as well as in dimensions. Her deck was composed of black walnut wood, curiously inlaid; the cabin being hung with gold brocade, ornamented with devices[x]. Three thousand, four hundred and eighty-six Christian slaves, were liberated from on board the gallies captured; and five thousand Turks, taken prisoners, were substituted in their places[y]. Few circumstances attending that memorable day, could have been more grateful or exhilarating to the conquerors, than the restoration of liberty to their unfortunate countrymen; nor more humiliating to the enemy, than the capture of so many Mahometans. No idea of an exchange of prisoners on either side, seems to have existed in that age. The antipathy subsisting between the two religions, precluded such

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Gallies.

Their magnificence.

[u] Knolles, p. 889. [x] Ibid. p. 883, 884.
[y] La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 76.

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alleviations of human misfortune. Three hundred and sixty-seven pieces of cannon, of various sizes, were taken in the Ottoman gallies. [z]

Turkish commanders.

It is a fact not a little remarkable, that almost all the illustrious commanders, naval, as well as military, employed under the reigns of Solyman and Selim, were originally Christians. Ibrahim, the grand Vizier of the former Sultan, who long enjoyed unlimited authority; to whose rare endowments, was principally due the success which attended the arms of his master against Hungary, and in Asia; was born at an obscure village, near the town of Perga in Epirus. During twelve years, he governed the Turkish empire with the most despotic power: but his treasonable correspondence with the Venetians, which was intercepted; together with the exhortations of Roxalana, induced Solyman, not without hesitation and reluctance, to put him to death, in 1536 [a]. The elevation of Barbarossa, was even greater and more singular. He, and his elder brother, Horuc, were the sons of a Renegado Greek, a potter, of Mytilene in the island of Lesbos. Having stolen a little galliot, and being of an enterprizing disposition, they betook themselves to the sea, and a few years afterwards conquered the kingdom of Algiers. We seem to be transported to the ages of fiction and romance, when we read of such transactions. Horuc being killed by the Spaniards,

Ibrahim.

Barbarossa.

[z] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 75, 76.

[a] Knolles, p. 645—654. La Croix, vol. i. p. 408. 410.

his

his head was carried in triumph, through the principal maritime cities of Andalusia, on a lance: but Barbarossa succeeded him in his usurped dominions; whose high reputation for skill, intrepidity, and knowledge of the Mediterranean coasts, induced Solyman in 1534, to offer him the supreme command of the Turkish fleets. Having accepted it, he was declared Captain Bashaw by the Sultan, who delivered him a sceptre and a sword, as the symbols of his regal dignity, and his naval pre-eminence. Eight hundred thousand Ducats were presented him out of the public treasury, for enabling him to commence his operations. He proved the scourge of Italy, during many years. The close of his active life was passed in repose at Constantinople, near which city he expired in 1547, at an advanced age. He was buried at Besictas, four miles from Pera, on the European side of the Bosphorus; a place in which, only a few years preceding, he had sold near sixteen thousand Christians captured by him, principally natives of the island of Corfu.[b] CHAP. XIX. 1574. His death.

Mahomet, who occupied the post of grand Vizier during the conclusion of Solyman's reign, and through the whole of Selim's, was a Sclavonian by birth, and eighteen years old when he became a slave. Not only was he a Christian, but he had been a clerk in the church of St. Saba, in the province of Bosnia; and after his Mahomet.

[b] Knolles, p. 635—639, and p. 751. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 391—396.

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1574. elevation, he bestowed peculiar marks of favor on his native place. The protection of Roxalana conducted him to the highest dignities and honors, though his talents were very moderate, and neither his personal courage, nor his military skill, appear to have been conspicuous. His concealment of Solyman's death, when it took place in the camp before Sigeth; by securing the throne to Selim, endeared Mahomet to that prince. He vainly however exerted his credit and endeavours to prevent the war with the Venetians, which produced the loss of Cyprus to the Republic; the Bashaws Sinan and Piali, having induced the Sultan to turn his arms against the Commonwealth of Venice. [c]

Piali. In no instance was the power of fortune more fully displayed, than in the person of Piali himself, who succeeded to Barbarossa, as Captain Bashaw. A Hungarian by birth, of extraction so obscure as to be unknown; after the memorable defeat of Louis the Second, at Mohatz, in 1526, his mother, in order to conceal him from the fury of the Turkish soldiery, threw him into a ditch. He was taken out, presented to Solyman in a state of nudity, and being well made, the Sultan ordered a nurse to be provided for the infant. His valor and talents atchieved the rest. [d]

Ulucciali. Ulucciali, to whose ability it was solely due, that any part of the Ottoman gallies escaped the defeat of Lepanto; and who merited the

[c] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 26, 27. [d] Ibid. p. 30, 31.

highest

highest applauses, considered as a naval commander, for his subsequent conduct; was born at a little village in Calabria: being destined to a monastic life, he embarked for Naples, in order to pursue his studies. On his passage he was captured by a Turkish vessel, and chained to the oar as a slave; but having embraced the Mahometan faith, he commenced the profession of a Corsair. It is asserted, that he always retained his original attachment to the Christian religion: it is certain that he frequently, after his elevation in the service of Solyman and Selim, visited his relations in Calabria, giving them marks of his affection and regard. His enterprize against Tunis and the Goletta, in 1574, covered him with glory[e]. The Bashaw Hali. Hali, who rose to the highest point of power and consideration, after the death of Rustan, towards the end of Solyman's reign, was by birth a Dalmatian. In elegance of manners, humanity, and courtesy, he had no equal in the Turkish court. His understanding liberal and enlarged, rose above the prejudices of his age or nation. Capable of friendship, disposed to commiserate and to relieve the unfortunate, he endeavoured to alleviate the severity with which the embassador of Ferdinand the First was treated at Constantinople[f]. Of all the ministers, or celebrated commanders, who during this period distinguished themselves in the Turkish service, Dragut alone was by birth a Dragut.

CHAP. XIX. 1574.

[e] Knolles, p. 889. [f] Busbeq. Epist. p. 103, and p. 307—316.

Maho-

CHAP. XIX. 1574.

Mahometan. He was a native of Anatolia, the son of a peasant. This fact seems to prove the superiority of the European, over the Asiatic mind.

Commerce.

The Turkish commerce, before the reign of Amurath the Third, was almost exclusively carried on by the French and the Venetians; the other European states having little share in the trade of the Levant. Francis the First, by the intimate connexions of policy into which he had entered with the Porte, obtained very beneficial exemptions or privileges for his subjects, who navigated the eastern part of the Mediterranean; and the flag of France was particularly respected in all the Ottoman ports[s]. The Republic of Venice, always attentive to her commercial interests, even when engaged in hostilities with the Turks; having resumed her intercourse immediately on the cessation of war, derived from it prodigious advantages. England enjoyed no share in this lucrative traffic, before the year 1583, when Elizabeth sent embassadors to Amurath the Third, with instructions for negotiating the terms of a treaty, which might open it to her subjects. Every impediment was thrown in the way of the negotiation, by the French and Venetian ministers at Constantinople, who warmly remonstrated with the grand Vizier; endeavouring to represent as an infraction of treaty, any permission given the English nation to participate in the Levant trade. But, their opposition proved

Treaty between Amurath the Third, and Elizabeth, Queen of England.

[s] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 126, 127.

ineffec-

ineffectual. English Consuls for the protection of Commerce, were soon afterwards sent to Smyrna, Aleppo, Alexandria, and Constantinople itself. The Dutch, who about the same period began to appear in the Archipelago, shared in these benefits.[h] CHAP. XIX. 1574.

Notwithstanding the magnitude and resources of the Turkish empire, the splendor of the Sultan on days of ceremony, and the local beauty of the situation of Constantinople; neither the capital, the court, nor the nation, could be regarded as other than barbarous. The arts were either unknown in a great degree, or they were exercised only by the Jews and Christians. Medicine and surgery continued in the rudest and simplest state. Insurmountable prejudices, religious or habitual, impeding the progress of science, extinguished knowledge, and depressed the human mind. Printing, which had been so widely diffused among the European nations at the period under our review, was interdicted in Turkey[i]. Articles of luxury were imported from foreign countries: while the people, indolent, destitute of activity, and fettered by ignorance or prescription, made no efforts to emancipate themselves from poverty and servitude. The tyranny of the Bashaws and Sangiacks, by destroying industry, compelled the opulent to conceal, or to bury their wealth. The geographical position of Constantinople, placed on the extreme verge of Europe, between the Euxine Constantinople. Its state. Barbarism. Situation.

[h] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 126, 127.
[i] Busbeq. Epist. p. 23, and p. 213, 214.

and

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and the Mediterranean seas; furnished from the neighbouring provinces of Asia, with every delicacy; fed with perpetual supplies of grain from Egypt; defended towards Hungary, by the Danube, the defiles of Mount Hœmus, and Rhodopè; seemed to point it out as the fit residence of the Sultans, and as the capital of the world. But, its interior did not in any degree correspond with these external, and local advantages. Except the superb edifice of St. Sophia, which had been converted into a Mosque, and some dilapidated remains of the Roman, or Byzantine grandeur that still survived; no monuments of art or taste were to be found in the antient capital of Constantine. [k]

Palace of the Sultans.

The palace of the Sultans exhibited neither architecture, magnificence, nor elegance of structure. It was only a vast and irregular building, the gardens of which extended to the sea-shore, occupying that part of the city where was supposed to have stood the antient Byzantium [l]. Such were the ravages committed by the plague, that during the height of the distemper, it was common for a thousand, or twelve hundred persons to be carried off daily in Constantinople [m]. The city was not less desolated by fire; the frequency and violence of which destructive element, never produced any precautions to avert its return. All the buildings, not only in the capital, but thro'out the Otto-

Conflagrations.

[k] Busbeq. Epist. p. 64—66.
[l] Ibid. p. 67.
[m] Ibid. p. 296—298, and p. 306.

man

man dominions, were of the meanest description; composed of wood, scarcely to be regarded as other than frail and temporary sheds, fitted merely to exclude the inclemency of the elements [n]. Such, even in the present age, continue to be the Turkish houses. The nature of a despotism, under which the tenure of all property is insecure, and its transmission precarious, sufficiently explains this feature of the Asiatic manners. In 1569, a conflagration took place at Constantinople, which lasting in all its violence during seven days, laid the greater part of the metropolis in ashes [o]. Its effects were so calamitous, as to retard for some time, the equipment of the expedition against Cyprus. 1574.

Ferocity and insolence towards foreigners.

The ferocity of the Turks, together with their detestation of Christians, made Constantinople a residence equally insecure and dangerous, for strangers of every description. Even the sanctity of a public character formed no protection against the fury of a bigotted and insolent populace. We may see in the epistles of Busbequius, to what severe privations, as well as personal mortification, an embassador of the first crowned head among the Christian Powers, was perpetually exposed. Immured in his own house; denied the liberty to stir beyond its walls, except by a particular permission from the Vizier; capriciously menaced with mutilation or death; debarred from almost all society; and loaded with contumelious language,

[n] Busbeq. Epist. p. 27, and p. 67. [o] La Croix, vol. i. p. 554.

when-

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whenever he appeared in the streets of Constantinople; his embassy was only a state of constant humiliation and imprisonment. Busbequius, during his repeated missions to the Porte, owed the few indulgencies which were shewn him, principally to the humanity and generosity of the Bashaw Hali [p]. But, his successor was not equally fortunate. In 1566, Albert de Viis, the Imperial minister at the court of Selim, being on horseback, with intention to take the air, was met by the Mufti; and not alighting to shew his veneration for the chief of the Mahometan faith, the Janizaries fell upon him, and so severely beat or ill-treated him, that his death ensued. Yet the Vizier refused to make any reparation, or to inflict any punishment on the soldiers, who had thus insulted and degraded the representative of the first prince in Europe; nor did Maximilian the Second think proper to resent so cruel and atrocious an outrage. The strength of the Ottoman empire, and the weakness of the house of Austria, compelled him to submit to the indignity. [q]

Treatment of the Imperial embassador.

Series of victories, gained by the Turks.

The enthusiastic confidence of the Turks in their superior valor, discipline, and military skill, during the whole reign of Solyman, and even under his successor Selim, rendered them equal to atchieving the most arduous enterprizes. During above a hundred and twenty years, which had elapsed since the final sub-

[p] Busbeq. Epist. p. 149—152. [q] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 16.

version

version of the eastern empire by Mahomet the Second, the Sultans had marched from one victory to another. If we except the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, the repulses before Malta and Corfu, with the defeat sustained at Lepanto; the whole period, from the deposition of Bajazet the Second in 1512, to the death of Selim in 1574, formed an almost uninterrupted series of prosperity and triumphs. Corresponding dejection, terror, and disunion, characterised the counsels of the Christian princes. The memorable battles of Nicopolis and of Varna, gained by the predecessors of Solyman, in the fourteenth, and fifteenth century, still impressed with dread. At Mohatz, where the unfortunate Louis, King of Hungary, perished; the plains, after the lapse of near fifty years, remained yet white with human bones[r]. The feeble efforts of Ferdinand the First, and Maximilian the Second, to stem the torrent, proved ineffectual. Solyman repeatedly passed the Danube, and covered the Upper Hungary with two hundred thousand horse: while Ferdinand's forces hardly exceeded thirty thousand infantry[s]. Strigonium, or Gran, a city situate on the bank of the Danube, which constituted the frontier garrison of the Turks, was not removed more than five days' march from the gates of Vienna. Under Amurath the Third, before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, they even made nearer approaches, and became masters of Räab

CHAP. XIX. 1574.

Mohatz.

[r] Busbeq. Epist. p. 380, 381.

[s] Ibid. p. 379, and 381.

or

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or Javarin, only a few leagues below Presburg. We have again witnessed its capture in 1809, by the armies of Bonaparte. Little more than the name of King of Hungary, remained to the Austrian princes, at the period under our consideration.

Danger of Germany, and Italy.

It must be owned, that the apprehensions of the Germans were by no means imaginary; and that another reign such as Solyman's, might have established the Ottoman dominion in the centre of Germany, or of Italy. Busbequius, who possessed every species of information on which to form his opinion, seems to question whether the danger was not so imminent, inevitable, and unsurmountable, as to justify, or rather to dictate, a total dereliction of all the eastern provinces of the empire, bordering on Hungary and Sclavonia [t]. The language which he adopts, when he mentions Solyman, is such as the Romans of the fifth century used, when speaking of Attila. He even expressly asserts, that to hazard an action with the dispirited and tumultuous troops of Ferdinand the First, against the veteran and victorious bands of the Sultan, might not only be taxed with imprudence, but must be regarded as partaking of insanity [u]. It seems hardly possible to make a more unequivocal confession of the weakness of

Busbequius's testimony.

[t] Busbeq. Epist. p. 380.

[u] Ibid. p. 379, and p. 396—398. Ibid. Exclam. de Re Milit. p. 416—418.

the

the Christians, or a more candid avowal of the Ottoman power. CHAP. XIX.

Every circumstance contributed in that age, to intoxicate the Turks, while it confirmed them in the opinion that they were destined by their Prophet, to subject the earth. It was not perhaps possible for human wisdom to foresee, during the splendid career of Solyman, that the Ottoman empire had reached its highest point of elevation, and already began to verge towards its decline. On every side, they beheld, like the Romans under Trajan, only prostrate princes, or terrified and suppliant provinces. The wretched remains of the Byzantine sovereigns, who had reigned over the Eastern Empire in the middle ages, were sunk into the lowest classes of Bulgarian peasants. "I saw," says Busbequius in 1555, "as I passed thro' that "country, the survivors of the Imperial race "of the Cantacuzeni, and the Palæologi, living "among the Turks, in a state of more con-"tempt, than that of Dyonisius at Corinth[x]." The present century has unfortunately become too familiar, since 1805, with similar examples of royal degradation. Greece had submitted to the Sultans, who no longer divided any part of Epirus, or of the Morea, with the Republic of Venice. Solyman, as if peculiarly flattered by his conquest of that celebrated part of Europe, assumed among his titles, the quality of

1574. Elevation of the Sultans.

Conquest of Greece.

[x] Busbeq. Epist. p. 44.

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"Lord of the Land of Ionia, and of the Athe-
"nian cities[y]." Constantinople, like antient Rome, continually saw within its walls, the most illustrious visitors, whom a desire of conciliating the favor of the court, or the chance of war, induced or compelled, to visit the Turkish capital. Even from Mingrelia, as well as from the banks of the Caspian sea, the princes of those remote and almost unknown countries, hastened in person to implore the assistance, or to deprecate the anger of Solyman[z]. The revolutionary King of Algiers commanded the Turkish fleets, precisely as Joachim Murat, made King of Naples, commanded the cavalry of Napoleon in our time: while the unfortunate defeat, sustained by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, on the coast of Barbary in 1562, filled Constantinople with Spanish prisoners of the highest rank and quality.[a]

Magnitude and splendor of the Ottoman empire, at this period.

If we contemplate the number of kingdoms, provinces, and islands, over which Selim the Second reigned, we shall not wonder at the terror inspired by the Turks, during that period. The Eastern Empire of Rome, in its original splendor, as it descended to Arcadius, on the decease of Theodosius, in the year 395; was far inferior in extent and magnitude, to the dominions of the Ottoman princes. Africa, with the exclusion only of Egypt, fell to the share

[y] Busbeq. Legatio Solimanni, p. 453, 454.
[z] Ibid. Epist. p. 202—207. [a] Ibid. p. 283—285.

of

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of Honorius, in the division of territory made by the Roman emperor, between his two sons. Arabia, which was not conquered by the arms of Rome, retained its independence in every age. The "Chersonesus Taurica," the Crimea of the Moderns, lying beyond the limits of the Eastern Empire; was regarded as a barbarous portion of Scythia, little known except by the expedition of the Argonauts, or the tragical amours of Jason and Medea. But, the coast of Barbary, Arabia, and the Peninsula of Crim Tartary, were all included in the obedience of the Sultan. From the frontiers of Fez and Morocco, to Erivan and Teflis, the capitals of Armenia and Georgia: from the kingdom of Yemen, situate beyond the entrance of the Red Sea, and from the deserts which divide the Upper Egypt from Nubia; to the borders of Istria, Poland, and Muscovy; — over this vast portion of the earth Selim reigned, either by his delegates, or in person. His power was sustained by the Mahometan religion; by the veneration of his subjects for the Ottoman family; by an army, which had vanquished under Solyman; and by a fleet, which had only risen with superior lustre, from its recent defeat at Lepanto. We must confess, that the greatest of the Christian Powers were feeble, in comparison with so prodigious a monarchy; and that the dread of both Germany and Italy being subjected to a Turkish yoke, was neither an absurd nor a groundless supposition. Happily for mankind,

Comparison of it, with the Eastern Empire of Rome.

Reflexions.

CHAP. XIX. 1574. that empire had already passed its meridian; and the imbecility or vices of the successors of Solyman, by introducing a relaxation of military discipline, dissolved the only support upon which rested its grandeur and stability. [b]

[b] Busbeq. Epist. p. 174.; and Excl. de Re Mil. p. 396—398.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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